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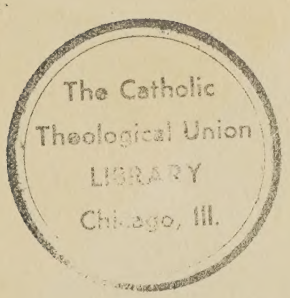
EXTINCTION OF THE ANCIENT HIERARCHY



Nihil Obstat.

THOMAS KANE, S.T.D.,
Censor Deputatus.

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A. *Propter ſedis Romanæ et fidei catholicæ confeſſionem, undecim R^mi epiſcopi catholici ex diuturna carceris moleſtia contabeſcentes obierunt.*

B. *Plumtreus Wodhouin Nelsonus. Maijnus, Hansiusque ſacerdotes in partes diſſecantur.*

C. *Storeus I.V. doctor. Feltonius etiam nobilis, et Shir Wodus idem ſupplicium ſubeunt, Regina Elizabetha Angliæ imperante.*

D. *quidam uir illuſtris capite plexus eſt.*

THE OLD ENGLISH COLLEGE FRESCO, showing the Prison of the Eleven Bishops.
(*From the Engravings published* 1584.)

[*Frontispiece.*

THE EXTINCTION OF THE ANCIENT HIERARCHY

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH IN PRISON OF THE ELEVEN BISHOPS HONOURED AT ROME AMONGST THE MARTYRS OF THE ELIZABETHAN PERSECUTION; ARCHBISHOP HEATH OF YORK, BISHOPS TUNSTALL, BONNER, AND COMPANIONS

BY THE REV. G. E. PHILLIPS
PROFESSOR AT ST CUTHBERT'S COLLEGE, USHAW

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To

HIS LOVED AND VENERATED FATHER, FRIEND, AND PASTOR

THOMAS WILLIAM

LORD BISHOP OF HEXHAM AND NEWCASTLE

THE PRESENT SUCCESSOR OF THE IMPRISONED CUTHBERT TUNSTALL, AND IMITATOR OF THE ZEAL FOR ENGLAND'S ANCIENT FAITH, FOR WHICH THAT VENERABLE PRELATE SUFFERED

THIS WORK IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

BY ITS AUTHOR

PREFACE

THE subject which is dealt with in the following pages, viz., the extinction of England's ancient Hierarchy under Elizabeth, and the fate of the faithful Catholic Bishops whom that Queen deposed, is one which long has occupied the writer's thoughts.

Without making any real examination of the facts, historians went on for centuries contentedly repeating the interested and deceitful account of the matter given by Lord Burghley, who was himself the chief actor in effecting that extinction;—and thus it came at last to be regarded as a fixed tradition to be accepted without question, that, excepting one or two, the ousted Prelates had been pleasantly allowed to end their lives in comfortable ease and quiet.

The writer (who at the time had only heard the above stereotyped version of the story) well remembers his surprise on being shown in younger days, in the Library of his College, the picture placed here as frontispiece, with its inscription recording the death of the Eleven Bishops from their sufferings in prison for the faith. "What?" he asked, "did eleven Bishops really die in prison," and, though assured at the time that there must have been some exaggeration, the impression made upon him did not quickly vanish.

His early interest in the subject naturally was revived by the beatification, in 1886, of so many of the English martyrs represented in the very pictures, to the series of which belonged the one just mentioned; and still more by the appearance three years later of the late Father Bridgett's *Queen Elizabeth and the Catholic Hierarchy*, to which continual references will be found in the ensuing pages.

In this last-named work the learned Redemptorist laid bare for the first time the deceitfulness of the account, which had been handed down by writers such as Burghley, Andrewes, and Camden, proving it to be at hopeless variance with official records, which the throwing open of State Papers has now made accessible to all.

In this book of Father Bridgett's, no reference was made to the English College pictures, or to the inscription set up to commemorate the eleven Bishops dead in prison ; but, in a review of the work by the late Father John Morris, S.J.,[1] which appeared soon afterwards, this last was briefly touched upon ; although, to the disappointment of the present writer, Father Morris gave up almost at once, as hopeless, the identification of the eleven there referred to.

At the same time—though so ardently devoted to the cause of our English martyrs and to everything connected with it—Father Morris made no profession of having given any special study to this particular question, and, on the other hand, he let it be clearly seen that, at the time that he was writing, he had not had by him the chief authorities that he referred to. In fact, on turning to the passage in Sander on which he had grounded his chief difficulty, it became evident at once that, through not having it before him when he wrote, the good Father had unconsciously misquoted his authority on more than one important point.

It happened, too, a little later, that the principal real difficulty in the way of identifying the eleven Bishops was entirely removed by the publication of the Acts of the Privy Council belonging to the year 1565. For these Acts prove beyond all question that a certain Bishop, who is wanted to make up the eleven—Bishop Pate of Worcester—whom modern writers have all represented as having fled abroad upon Elizabeth's accession,[2] was really still in England, and a prisoner, in the year 1565—in which actual

[1] *Month*, November 1889, "The Deposed Bishops of England."

[2] The first to assert this (as will be shown in its own place), was the Protestant Bishop Andrewes in the following century, who erroneously applied to the time of Elizabeth some words of Sander referring really to an earlier period.

year the Bishop died. Thus the Catholic writers of the time itself, who numbered him amongst those dead in prison, are confirmed in their assertion.

This and other difficulties, as to the identification of the Bishops, having been removed, a statement of the case regarding them was made by the present writer, in the Ushaw magazine of July 1901, which reappeared shortly after in the *Tablet*.

In the following autumn, on occasion of their annual meeting held at Ushaw, the Bishops of the six northern Dioceses addressed a communication on the subject, through the Bishop of Middlesbrough, to Cardinal Vaughan, begging his Eminence to take steps to bring before the Holy See the claim of the eleven Bishops to be honoured like the other Martyrs represented in the English College pictures.

The following is the answer of his Eminence to the Bishop of Middlesbrough's letter:—

"ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE,
"WESTMINSTER, S.W., *October 2nd*, 1901.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I will take care to appoint at once a court to make a preliminary examination into the claims of the eleven Bishops to be ranked among our Beati: and will communicate with Rome upon the subject without delay.

"Your devoted brother,
"HERBERT, CARD. VAUGHAN."

A little later, the present writer was commissioned by the Cardinal and his own Bishop to draw up a formal statement of the case of the eleven Bishops, with a view to the introduction of their cause at Rome; and the preparation of the necessary documents for presentation to the Sacred Congregation of Rites was at once begun.

Before these, however, had been yet completed, it was realised by those most interested in the cause, that its formal introduction at Rome would be much facilitated by the previous publication of the story of the imprisoned Bishops' sufferings in some simpler and more popular form.

In the case of some of them, moreover, for example in that of the good Bishop Bonner—some such step seemed almost necessary in consequence of the long-standing, though as now can be proved unjust, detestation, with which the malice of his enemies has caused him to be regarded; kind and gentle though he really was.

The immediate purpose, therefore, of the present volume, is to lay before the reader the true story of the death for the faith in prison of the eleven Bishops, as proved from State Papers and other contemporary writings; which story the deliberate efforts of their persecutors have caused to be so long suppressed.

In his endeavour to carry out this purpose the writer feels that he may justly claim the sympathy of all those who love the truth for its own sake; whether or not they actually hold the faith for which these holy Bishops devotedly gave up all that this world values, to end their days in prison.

He cannot but think, moreover, that the violent extinction of our country's ancient Hierarchy, and the sudden substitution of a new one in its place, is in itself an event of consequence sufficient to demand a closer attention from historians than it has commonly received.

Most of all does that event seem to claim the careful thought of those who would fain have it be believed that the "Church of England," which was set up by Elizabeth and her Parliament in 1559, was in some entirely inexplicable manner a continuation of that of the good Queen Mary and of the times before the so-called Reformation.

From first to last the writer has to own his deep indebtedness to the late lamented Father Bridgett, without whose *Queen Elizabeth and the Catholic Hierarchy* the present work would have never probably been undertaken. To him is due the praise of having been the first to throw light on a corner of history, which till then had been very dark.

In spite of this, however, Father Bridgett has naturally left much still to be done to bring out the whole truth as to an event so long concealed.

At times his cautious fear of being betrayed into exaggeration had led him to underrate the full significance of certain acts, or words; whilst, in other cases, evidences of the continuation and of the severity of the Bishops' imprisonment had entirely escaped him, which have since been brought to light.

Moreover, an examination of the Catholic writings of the period (of which Father Bridgett seems to have had the opportunity of consulting very few), has brought out into strong light the profound veneration in which their Catholic contemporaries held the imprisoned Confessors, or rather Martyrs, as they generally called them. Of these writers, those whose names will naturally be found to recur most often, are Nicholas Sander and Cardinal William Allen.

Of the latter it would be quite unnecessary here to make any eulogium; nor with reference to Sander can there be any longer need to clear him from the virulent aspersions which formerly were cast upon him by writers such as Heylin, Burnet, and Strype, since even Protestants themselves have grown ashamed of these. It cannot be out of place, however, to quote here the judgment passed in our day on Sander by the non-Catholic writer of the notice of him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

"Recent historians have shown that, notwithstanding his animus and the violence of his language, *his narrative of facts is remarkably truthful*. . . . Even in the extreme case of the impossible story regarding Anne Boleyn's birth, it is proved to have been at least no invention of Sander's, but was reported by him, in apparent good faith, on the authority of Rastall's *Life of More*, to which he refers, and of common gossip. In respect to information derived from Roman sources, Sanders is particularly accurate."

To Catholics, the best testimony to the high character of Sander is the confidence which was reposed in him by the highest ecclesiastical authorities of his own time. Thus Cardinal Allen, in his letters, spoke of him continually with unbounded esteem and reverence; whilst Pope St Pius V. named him one of his Apostolic Delegates for England,

with powers usually entrusted alone to Bishops; and his successor, Pope Gregory XIII., despatched him as Papal Nuncio to Spain and Ireland, where he died about the April of 1581.

Amongst the many friends, from whom the writer has received assistance and encouragement, his thanks are due especially to Father John H. Pollen, S.J., to whom he is indebted, not merely for continual help and counsel, but also for the loan of many valuable transcripts of papers of Sander's, Persons', and others yet unpublished. His special thanks are due to Father Pollen for the loan of Sander's Report to Cardinal Morone. From this the writer has translated numerous passages, without thinking it necessary to supply the Latin text,—the publication of the entire text of this invaluable Report being promised very shortly by the Catholic Record Society.

In quoting English books and papers of the sixteenth century, the writer has thought it best, as a rule, to modernise the spelling.

The writer's special thanks are also due to Mr R. Raikes Bromage for his kindness in supplying him with very many transcripts of papers from the Record Office and the British Museum, as also for other valuable help.

He has also to thank many of his colleagues at St Cuthbert's College for their help in various ways, and especially the Rev. Dr T. Kane for his patience in revising the entire manuscript.

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THE EXTINCTION OF THE ANCIENT HIERARCHY

CHAPTER I

THE ENGLISH COLLEGE PICTURES, AND THE BEATIFICATION OF THE MARTYRS REPRESENTED IN THEM

THE purpose of the following pages is to revive the too-long-forgotten memory of eleven of the Catholic Bishops whom Elizabeth deposed from their Sees at her accession, and in whose honour, with permission of Pope Gregory XIII., an inscription was set up at Rome in the year 1583, in the church attached to the English College.

In this inscription the eleven Bishops were held up to the veneration of the faithful, as "having died for their confession of the Roman See and of the Catholic faith, worn out by the miseries of their long imprisonment."

For two centuries and more, with the knowledge and approval of the succeeding Pontiffs, the inscription continued to bear testimony to their death in this manner for the faith; and even after its destruction in the troubles of the French occupation of 1798, its witness has been nevertheless perpetuated by the engravings of it executed with the approbation of the same Pope Gregory XIII.

The inscription itself, as shown in the engraving, had originally stood beneath a picture of a formidable prison building (meant to represent those of the Bishops), which filled a compartment in one of the frescoes of the Martyr Saints of England, with which Circignani (better known as Pomarancio) had adorned the English College church.

It was these pictures, preserved to us by the engravings

of them, that were destined in God's Providence to play so important a part in the recent beatification of our English Martyrs; and to help us to appreciate the importance of the remarkable inscription above mentioned, it will be best briefly to trace the history of these pictures, before entering upon the other questions to which the inscription leads.

The frescoes of the English Martyrs, which ran round the walls of the old church of the English College, owed their first conception and in great part their execution to an English gentleman named George Gilbert, an admirably zealous convert, who died whilst still young, at the English College, just after their completion. On succeeding not many years before to large estates in Suffolk and in other counties, Gilbert, then still a Protestant, had gone abroad to travel. At Rome he was brought over to the faith in 1579 by Father Persons, S.J., under whose direction he from that time placed himself; and returning to England the same year, in spite of the persecution, he gave himself up heart and soul to the advancement of the Catholic religion. On the arrival not long afterwards of the first two Jesuit missionaries in England, Fathers Campion and Persons, he was not ashamed, along with other zealous Catholic young gentlemen, to act as servant to the missionaries, conducting them upon their journeys, arranging for their safe concealment, and providing them with everything.[1]

It is not surprising that zeal such as this soon drew on Gilbert the attention of the persecutors, whose determined efforts to effect his capture at last led Father Persons to insist on his retiring for a while from the danger. Escaping therefore to the Continent about the June of 1581, Gilbert made his way to Rheims, where he was received with open arms by Dr Allen (afterwards Cardinal), with whom he stayed until the following December. The high esteem in which he was already held by Allen is best shown by

[1] Simpson's *Life of Edmund Campion*, p. 220-223; see also a Life of George Gilbert in Foley's *Records of the English Province*, vol. iii., series viii., pp. 658-704.

the following to Father Agazzari, S.J., then Rector of the English College at Rome, dated Rheims, June 23, 1581.

"I have with me at this very time the chief companion and protector of the Fathers and the Priests in England, Mr George Gilbert, who on their account has suffered the seizure of nearly all his goods and property: and because the heretics pursued him in particular more than others, knowing, as they did, that by his means the Fathers of the Society were protected and maintained,—he has by the advice of Father Robert (Persons) and others retired hither into France, in order to preserve himself for another time. He will be in Rome in the autumn, if it pleases God, and will dispose of himself according to the advice of the Rev. Father General and yourself."[1]

Gilbert's departure from Rheims was deferred apparently a little longer than he had at first intended, since he bore with him to Rome a letter to the Pope's Secretary of State, the Cardinal of Como, dated Rheims, December 20, 1581, in which Allen assured the Cardinal that "its bearer, Mr George Gilbert, a man distinguished for his piety and his many services to his countrymen, will be able to relate the true history of the glorious martyrdom of Edmund Campion, Jesuit, Ralph Sherwin and Alexander Briant, Priests and alumni of both colleges; who, after bravely overcoming various torments, took their flight at last to heaven, on the 1st of December."[2]

From other letters of Allen's, written to Agazzari somewhat later, we learn, not only that the idea of erecting the pictures of the English Martyrs (which were commenced at Rome but shortly after) had been communicated to him; but that he himself had been asked to furnish for them a list of the more recent sufferers. For on February the 7th, 1582, he writes: "I will send you in a few days the names of all the Martyrs of the times of Henry VIII. and of this Elizabeth, *as you request*."[3] At the same time he tells the

[1] The Latin text of this is to be found in "Letters and Memorials of Cardinal Allen," *Records of the English Catholics*, edited by Fathers of the London Oratory, vol. ii., p. 97.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 107. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 111.

Father Rector that he is sending copies of some verses in honour of Campion and his companions for presentation to the Holy Father, the Cardinal of Como, and some others—George Gilbert amongst them.

Eight English students, who started from Rheims for Rome a few days later, "laden," as Allen wrote, "with letters and some other things,"[1] were perhaps the bearers of his promised list of martyrs; unless we are to understand this latter to have been a certain *Martyrology*, which he announced a little later he was sending. For on the following August 16, we find him writing to Agazzari: "To you—that is to say, to the Reverend Father Confessor and Mr George Gilbert (for them to translate to yourself and others)—I am sending the Martyrology which we have drawn up in our own language with all the diligence these busy days allowed. From it the Martyrology, which you yourselves are planning, *will be made more full*."[2]

The "Father Confessor" above referred to, was Father William Good, S.J., then Confessor to the English College, whose name, in Allen's letters at this time, is continually coupled with George Gilbert's, whom he actively assisted in the erection of the pictures. It was Father Good apparently who chose the subjects of those representing the more ancient Saints; and he in particular is said to have composed the inscriptions placed beneath the frescoes.[3] To Father Good, says Bartoli, Gilbert left "the painting, the subject, and the whole order of the thing."[4] At the English College there is still preserved a volume in Father Good's handwriting, which is filled with Lives of the earlier Saints of England, apparently collected with a view to the erection of these pictures; but containing no allusion to any of the Martyrs under Henry and Elizabeth.[5] It seems plain, therefore, that, in the pictured

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 120. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 156.

[3] Le P. Good composa les legendes Latines, qui sont au bas des gravures. (*Bibliothèque de la Comp. de Jesus*, Bruxelles, 1892.)

[4] Foley, *Records*, vol. iii., p. 683.

[5] Good's manuscript has been kindly examined for the present

"Martyrology" planned and carried out by Father Good and Gilbert, these later Martyrs were "*filled in*" *from the list supplied by Dr Allen;* and it is singular that this fact, which is made so clear by the Cardinal's own letters, has never yet apparently been noticed.

In another letter, written whilst the painting of the frescoes was proceeding, Allen not merely expressed his satisfaction at the news, but enclosed a subscription towards the expenses of the work. "Mr George has told me," he wrote to the Father Rector on March 29, 1593, "that you are already adorning your church all round with the sacred pictures of the English Martyrs. Pray accept for this work thirty scudi from the collection, as a small offering from this College and from your own Allen."[1]

The "collection" here referred to, meant the contributions gathered with much difficulty from the Catholics of various countries for the support of Douai College—exiled at the time to Rheims—and for other works connected with the English mission. That, with so many pressing needs, Allen should nevertheless have devoted this sum to the erection of the pictures of the Martyrs, proves the great good that he expected from them.

At the same time, his anxiety that the pictures and inscriptions should truly represent the facts, is shown by the care with which he kept forwarding to Father Good and Mr Gilbert news of the fresh martyrdoms which occurred; whilst always carefully distinguishing the uncertain rumours which occasionally reached him first, from the authentic information which he sent them finally.

As a good instance of his care to exclude from notice in them any sufferer whose real claim to be a Martyr might be questioned, the case may be mentioned of James Layburne, who, though named in other lists of Martyrs of that period, had no place in the English College pictures;

writer by the Right Rev. Mgr. Giles, Rector of the English College. Mention of the MS. is made by Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. i., p. 225, ed. 1721.

[1] Letters, etc., p. 186.

the reason of this no doubt being a letter sent to Allen, in which doubts were expressed as to the rightfulness of Layburne's answers at his trial; and which was forwarded by him to Agazzari on May 20, 1583.[1]

The writer of this letter, George Birket, afterwards Arch-priest, after announcing the martyrdom of B. William Hart, who is represented in the pictures, continued thus with reference to Layburne, who had suffered at nearly the same time—"Whether he had a zeal according to knowledge, it must be left to God to judge. Many of us, at all events, think it was not altogether safe, since he did not confine himself to the answers of Edmund Campion and the other Martyrs to the judges. For, as it is reported, he publicly and openly denied the Queen's right and title altogether even in temporal affairs, and referred rather severely to her illegitimacy."[2]

The last martyrdom commemorated in the pictures was that of B. Richard Thirkill, who suffered on May the 29th, 1583; and we find Allen sending information of it to his Roman friends on August the 8th of the same year, after having earlier announced it as a rumour.[3] Before that, however, he had already received copies of some of the pictures, for which he wrote his thanks to Father Agazzari on June the 26th.[4] All this shows how much larger than apparently has yet been realised, was the Cardinal's own share in the undertaking; the determination of all the later subjects represented in the pictures having come entirely from him.

George Gilbert's sudden death on October 6, 1583, put a stop to any further continuation of the pictures.[5] He died at the English College, carried off by rapid fever, after being received into the Society of Jesus on his deathbed. On the day after his seizure, he was to have set off for

[1] Letters, etc., p. 192.

[2] Rev. George Birket to Dr Allen, London, April 24, 1583. (*Records of the English Catholics*, App. to Douai Diaries, p. 353.)

[3] Letters, etc., p. 199, 202. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 198.

[5] The pictures thus contain no notice of the martyrdoms of the Ven. John Slade and John Body on October 30 and November 2 of that same year.

Death of George Gilbert at the English College.

[*To face p.* 6.

Paris on business connected with England, which the Pope had intrusted to him ; and on hearing of his death Gregory XIII., who had learnt his worth, spoke of it as a serious blow to Catholicity in England. An account of him, composed by Father Agazzari, contains the following allusion to his erection of the pictures.

"The holy youth took great pains to learn the names of all the English Martyrs of former and modern times, and caused their acts of martyrdom to be represented in paintings with which he adorned the whole church of the College. . . . This cost him seven hundred scudi, he having collected for the purpose contributions from several of his English friends."[1]

With reference to Father William Good, Gilbert's chief helper in connection with the pictures, and author, as it is said, of the inscriptions—a few facts may here be stated to show his opportunities of knowing the truth as to the Elizabethan persecution, and especially as to its commencement, when he was still himself in England.

Good, who had become a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1552, and who, under Queen Mary, had held a Prebend in Wells Cathedral, together with the headmastership of Wells Grammar School, did not fly from England till about 1562; and was therefore himself a witness of the deposition and imprisonment of the Bishops, and amongst them, of his own Diocesan, Gilbert Bourne of Bath and Wells, in whose cathedral he then occupied a stall. On going abroad he entered the Jesuit noviciate at Tournai, and then laboured many years in Flanders, whither the continual stream of English exiles constantly brought news of the sufferers at home.

After being called to Rome in 1577, he was sent upon a special mission to Sweden and to Poland, as companion to Father Possevin, the Papal Nuncio. On his being recalled to Rome, and named Confessor to the English College in 1581, Allen thus expressed his joy to Father Agazzari: "I am not a little rejoiced that Father Good—

[1] Foley's *Records*, vol. iii., p. 697.

a *good* man indeed—is the College Confessor, for he is especially well suited to form the characters of our students, and in every way to direct them." Father Good died at Naples in 1586, and is named in Bridgewater's *Concertatio* amongst the exiles for the faith. In a *Eulogium* of him, preserved at the English College, he is described as "a very holy and learned man, particularly acquainted with English ecclesiastical history," to whose zeal and industry it was "owing that the pictures of the English saints were painted by Pomarancio in our church."[1]

These, then, were the great and holy men, to whom we are indebted for this most important series of pictures and inscriptions to commemorate our English martyrs, including the eleven Bishops, viz., Allen, afterwards made Cardinal, and already recognised as the official leader of the English Catholics; George Gilbert, and Father Good, S.J.; not to mention Father Agazzari, Rector of the English College, and the celebrated painter Pomarancio!

It is no wonder, then, that the work of men of such authority and character received the sanction of Pope Gregory XIII., although we may be certain that that Pontiff's approbation was not granted, till he had first been satisfied that all the persons there declared to have died for the faith had really merited to be so represented.

The same Pope's letter addressed to Cavallieri, the engraver of the pictures and inscriptions, and prefixed to some copies of the volume containing the engravings, shows that these latter too had been completed before the middle of 1584, since it is dated June the 27th of that year; and his approval of their publication is still further attested by the words *Cum privilegio Gregorii XIII. P.M.*, which are printed on the title-page.[2]

[1] This account of Father Good is from Wood, *Athen. Oxon.*, vol. i., p. 225; and from Foley's *Records*, vol. iv., p. 478, etc.

[2] The following is the full title of the volume: *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Trophæa, sive Sanctorum Martyrum, qui pro Christo Catholicæque fidei veritate asserenda, antiquo recentiorique Persecutionum tempore, mortem in Anglia subierunt, Passiones Romæ in Collegio Anglico per Nicolaum Circinianum depictæ; nuper autem*

The honour, which his predecessor had accorded to the Henrician and Elizabethan Martyrs by allowing them to be held up to public veneration in these pictures along with Saints already canonised, was accepted by Pope Leo XIII. as an act equivalent to the beatification of those to whom this honour had been shown, as is expressly stated in the Pontifical Decrees of 1886 and 1895.

Thus, in the first of these, which with the late Pontiff's approval was issued on December the 29th, the feast of St Thomas of Canterbury, it is related how Pope Gregory XIII., "after he had caused the sufferings of the Christian Martyrs to be painted in fresco by Nicholas Circiniani, in the Church of St Stephen on the Coelian Hill, permitted also the Martyrs of the Church in England, both of ancient and more recent times, to be represented in like manner by the same artist in the English Church of the Most Holy Trinity in Rome, including those who from the year 1535 to 1583 had died under King Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth for the Catholic faith and for the primacy of the Roman Pontiff. The representations of these martyrdoms, painted in the same church, remained, with the knowledge and approbation of the Roman Pontiffs who succeeded Gregory XIII. for two centuries, until they were destroyed by wicked men about the end of the last century. But copies of them still remained: for in the year 1584, by privilege of the said Gregory XIII., they had been engraved at Rome on copperplate, with the title: 'Sufferings of the Holy Martyrs, who for Christ's sake and for professing the truth of the Catholic faith have suffered death in England both in ancient and more recent times.' From this record, either by inscriptions placed beneath them, or by other sure indications, many of the Martyrs are known by name, that is to say, fifty-four,"[1] the names of whom then follow.

The Decree then proceeds to declare the decision of the Sacred Congregation of Rites to the effect that the

per Jo. Bap. de Cavalleriis æneis typis representatæ, 1584. *Cum privilegio Gregorii XIII. P.M.*

[1] Translated by Father J. H. Pollen, S.J., *Acts of English Martyrs*, 1891, p. 369.

above-mentioned facts were "evidence of the concession of public ecclesiastical honour" to these Martyrs.

One thing especially deserving of remark, as showing the importance attached to the testimony of these pictures and inscriptions, is the fact that, whereas the beatification of six of the Martyrs comprised amongst the fifty-four had not at first been asked for, their names were added later to the list *on account of their being found in the inscriptions.*

These six Martyrs were the Blessed John Hale, Margaret Pole, Thomas Plumtree, John Felton, John Storey, and Thomas Woodhouse.

Excepting the eighteen Carthusian Martyrs, whose identity was shown sufficiently by the mention of their number, time, and manner of death, etc., all those beatified in 1886 were found mentioned by their actual names in the inscriptions. But by the second Decree of 1895, eight other Blessed Martyrs were added to their number, who, though not mentioned by their names, had been proved from other sources to be the sufferers described in other ways in the inscriptions.

In this way there were added to the fifty-four enumerated in the first Decree, the three Benedictine Abbots of Glastonbury, Reading, and Colchester, with their four companions B.B. Roger James, John Thorn, William Onion, and John Rugg, whose martyrdom was thus announced beneath their picture: *Tres Reverendi Abbates Ordinis S. Benedicti necantur, et aliqui ipsorum monachi laqueis suffocantur:* as also B. Thomas Percy, the Earl of Northumberland, whom the pictures represented as a nobleman being beheaded, with the words written beneath: *Quidam vir illustris capite plexus est.*[1] From this it is clear that the mere fact of their names not being actually given need not be any obstacle to the beatification also of the Bishops, if the *eleven* spoken of, as having died for the faith in prison, can be sufficiently identified in other ways.

[1] By this same Decree of 1895, B. Adrian Fortescue, not represented in the pictures, was beatified on other grounds.

CHAPTER II

THE PICTURE OF THE IMPRISONED BISHOPS, AND THE NAMES OF THE ELEVEN, AS MADE CERTAIN BY LISTS BELONGING TO THE TIME

THE eleven Bishops described as having died in prison are now the only ones, amongst the sufferers distinctively referred to in the inscriptions of the English College pictures,[1] to whom the honours of the Blessed have not yet been decreed; although everything appears to show that *they* were intended to be held up to the same public veneration as the rest. In fact, these eleven Bishops, who had "died worn out by long imprisonment," are there placed as the first victims of Elizabeth, and their death is recorded as the first event of her persecution.

To typify the close confinement, in which they had been made to end their days, the painter had depicted a fortress standing on a river bank, and with windows strongly barred and grated—meant most likely for the Tower—beneath which were set the following words: *Propter Sedis Romanæ et fidei Catholicæ confessionem, undecim R^mi Episcopi Catholici ex diuturna carceris molestia contabescentes obierunt.* In the lower part of the same picture were exhibited the martyrdoms of Blessed Thomas Plumtree and John Felton, who suffered in 1570; of B. Thomas Percy, put to death in 1572; and of B. Cuthbert Mayne, the proto-martyr of the Seminarists, with five others of Elizabeth's first victims.

[1] The precise mention of the *number* of the Bishops is clear proof that the reference is to definite individuals, and not merely (as in one of the other pictures) to general examples of the tortures inflicted by the persecutors.

Thus this picture truthfully exhibited the commencement of the Elizabethan persecution, the first blow of which fell upon the faithful Bishops, who were gradually, though none less surely, extinguished in their prisons. And indeed, even in that fierce persecution, there cannot have been many incidents more worth recording than this extermination of the ancient Hierarchy; nor is it possible to read the above inscription without desiring to know the names of the eleven holy Prelates, of whose death in prison our Catholic forefathers endeavoured thus to perpetuate the memory.

It is easy to see how, to the Catholics living at the time of its erection, the eleven Bishops spoken of in the inscription would naturally be so well known, as to make it needless to express their names. Moreover, there was then one still living, and upon the spot, to give them full information; who had himself been intimate with each of the eleven—viz., Bishop Goldwell of St Asaph, the last survivor of the ancient Hierarchy. But when at last the beatification of the Martyrs there depicted came about, more than three centuries after the time, the history of the imprisoned Prelates had become meanwhile so much obscured by false traditions and false statements, that it was then no easy thing to say at once who precisely the eleven were.

In the similar case of the three Abbots and their unnamed companions, the method followed was to go back to books and documents belonging to the time, and to compare the statements found in these with that of the Roman inscription.

The same method has been adopted by the present writer with reference to the Bishops deposed and imprisoned by Elizabeth, of whom, fortunately, many lists are to be found in books and papers of the period; and the result of a careful study of these lists and other like authorities has been to remove all doubt from his mind as to the identity of the eleven.

The result of this examination, with the authorities on which it rests, must now be laid before the reader.

He is, however, requested to remember that authorities are only cited here, in so far as they help us to identify the individuals; although they cannot well be quoted for this purpose without necessitating some anticipation of what will be told more fully later as to the holy Bishops' sufferings.

A complete list of the twenty-seven English Sees existing at the commencement of the reign of Queen Elizabeth is found, very conveniently for our purpose, in a letter of Il Schifanoya, the Mantuan representative in London, dated June 27, 1559.

At that time no less than ten Sees were already vacant, owing to their occupants having died, either just before, or immediately after, Elizabeth's accession; and the process of depriving the survivors had already been commenced. The following is Il Schifanoya's enumeration of the Sees:—

"1st. Bishops dead:—Canterbury, *i.e.*, Cardinal Pole; Rochester, Norwich, Chichester, Oxford, Salisbury, Gloucester, Bristol, Hereford, Bangor.

"2nd. Bishops deprived:—London, Worcester, Chester, Carlisle, Lichfield, Llandaff, Winchester (in the Tower), Lincoln (in the Tower).

"3rd. Bishops living, and not yet deprived:—York, Ely, Exeter, Bath, St Asaph, Durham, Peterborough, St Davids, Man (Mona Insula)."[1]

Thus, when Il Schifanoya wrote, the whole number of the Bishops still surviving was but seventeen.[2]

[1] *Venetian Calendar*, 1558-1580, p. 105.

[2] Besides these there were two others living (though not holding Dioceses), whom Henry VIII. had named "Suffragans," but who, after abjuring the schism under Mary, unhappily fell back under Elizabeth. The first of these, Thomas Spark, Bishop Suffragan of Berwick, was still in possession, at his death in 1571, of a stall at Durham and other preferments. The other—Robert Pursglove, Bishop Suffragan of Hull—at first refused the oath of supremacy under Elizabeth, and was deprived. Dodd (whom Father Bridgett follows) represents him as having continued faithful. But this appears irreconcilable with the fact that he received on June 5, 1563, letters patent from the queen for the foundation at Guisborough of

Out of these seventeen we may at once put aside, in our search for the eleven:

1st. Bishop Kitchin of Llandaff, who—though he at first (as this letter shows) allowed himself to be deprived—ended miserably by conforming to the new religion.

2nd. Bishop Morgan of St David's, who was saved by illness from being put in prison, and who died with relatives near Oxford before the end of the same year 1559.[1]

And 3rd, Bishop Stanley of Sodor and Man, who seems to have retained his bishopric until his death; and who, so far from dying in a prison, is thought by some to have renounced his religion.[2]

When, however, passing these three over, we look to see what writers of the time can tell us with reference to

a school and hospital "placed under the visitatorial power of the Archbishop of York" (article in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*). In any case he died at liberty, at Tideswell in Derbyshire, in 1580; and is not found named in any of the contemporary lists of sufferers drawn up by Catholics. A copy of his will, dated March 31, 1580, and proved on the following August 22, is preserved at Ushaw.

[1] See the account of Bishop Morgan in Father Bridgett's *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 62. In spite of his fidelity, Bishop Morgan is nowhere mentioned in the lists of sufferers.

[2] The wording of the writ which appointed a successor to Stanley in 1570, would seem to show that he himself had continued to be recognised as Bishop by Elizabeth; since it describes the See as vacant, not by the deprivation (as in the case of the other deposed Bishops), but "by the natural death of Thomas Stanley, the last occupant of that episcopal dignity." (Rymer, *Foedera*, tom. vi., pars. iv., p. 141.) Pilkington, the first Protestant Bishop of Durham, wrote from Lancashire about 1564 to Parker, saying: "The Bishop of Man here lies at ease, and as merry as Pope Joan" (*Parker Correspondence*, p. 222). In this, however, it is not quite clear whether he was regretting the liberty allowed to Stanley, or blaming him for not furthering the new religion more actively. It seems just possible that, without apostacy, Stanley may have enjoyed some immunity, under the protection of the Earl of Derby, the Patron of his See, who was then still looked on as a Catholic, and was accused of having Mass in his house in 1571 (*Dom. Calendar*, 1566-1579, p. 362). The Consistorial Act of Paul IV., June 26, 1555, by which Stanley was provided to the See of Man, speaks of it "as done at the instance of the Earl of Derby" (Dr Maziere Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. i., p. 108).

the fourteen that remain, we find them everyone extolled by Catholics, as having, either in exile or in prison, made a glorious confession of the faith.

Thus, to take first Dr Allen, in answering an allusion made by Burghley to the so-called "martyrs" put to death by Mary, we find him begin, as follows, his own enumeration of the Catholic sufferers under Elizabeth :—

"For these we yield unto the Libeller, first, *fourteen* noble and most worthy Bishops at one time, such as himself upon evil intent commended even now so highly (and indeed they were inferior in virtue and learning to none in Europe), who all were deprived of their honours and high callings, and *most of them imprisoned* and spitefully used in all respects."[1]

The erection of the English College pictures, in which Allen was so much concerned, had taken place about a year before the time of his writing the above; and the engravings of them were published almost simultaneously with his answer to Lord Burghley in 1584, from which it is taken. At the moment of his writing,[2] one of the fourteen Confessors whom he refers to—Bishop Watson of Lincoln, who only died on September 27 of the same year, was still lingering on in Wisbeach Castle; whilst another, the exiled Bishop of St Asaph, is described by him in it, as "yet alive in Rome."

The names of the rest of these fourteen Confessors (or Martyrs, as Allen calls those that had already died in prison) are made known to us in part by his allusion to the insidious praises bestowed on them (as more "loyal" than the later sufferers) in the book that he was answering;[3] but with entire certainty by an actual list of the

[1] *True, Sincere, and Modest Defence of English Catholics*, 1584, p. 45.

[2] Writing from Paris on July 23, 1584, Father Persons spoke of the printing, *as then already nearly finished*, of this reply of Allen's to Burghley's *Execution of Justice in England* ("Letters and Memorials of Card. Allen," p. 240, note).

[3] In this way we get the names of Archbishop Heath, and of Bishops Tunstall, White, Oglethorpe, Poole, Thirlby, and Turberville—all spoken of by Burghley as already dead; and of Bishop Watson,

fourteen, which was brought out next year by Father Persons, at the end of Sander's *History of the English Schism*, under the heading: *Names of the Bishops, who, in prison or in exile, have died for the same cause* (*i.e.* for the Catholic faith).

The great intimacy which there was between Allen himself and Father Persons gives special importance to this list; nor was any book upon the persecution so widely circulated as that in which it was published, and of which a second edition was brought out in 1586 at Rome itself, the very place where already was exposed to view the inscription regarding the eleven dead in prison.

In this list supplied by Father Persons—in addition to the two above-mentioned Bishops of Lincoln and St Asaph (both of whom had meantime died)—we find named the twelve following: Archbishop Heath of York, and Bishops Bonner of London, White of Winchester, Tunstall of Durham, Oglethorpe of Carlisle, Pate of Worcester, Bayne of Lichfield, Thirlby of Ely, Poole of Peterborough, Bourne of Bath, Turberville of Exeter, and Scott of Chester.[1]

The above same fourteen names—as those of the Bishops that "suffered imprisonment or banishment," occur again in a later work of Father Persons, published in 1603;[2] and again a third time in his yet unpublished "Story of Domestical Difficulties," which he left unfinished at his death.

In this last, Persons refers to "the deprivation of all

mentioned by him as "yet living." (*Execution of Justice in England*, Somers' Tracts, vol. i., p. 192, ed. 1809, quoted by Father Bridgett, p. 2).

[1] "Nomina Episcoporum qui in carcere, vel in exilio, pro eadem causa mortui sunt. Nicolaus Hethus, Archiepiscopus Eboracensis et Cancellarius, Edmundus Bonerus, Londinensis," etc. (Printed at the end of "*Doctissimi viri Nicolai Sanderi, de origine ac progressu Schismatis Anglicani liber. . . . Editus et auctus per Edouardum Rishtonum. Coloniæ Agrippinæ, Anno Domini*, 1585.") Mr Lewis, in translating the above work of Sander, unfortunately omitted this and other tables at the end of the original edition.

[2] *A Treatise of Three Conversions of England*, 1603, vol. i., p. 264.

such Catholic Bishops, which would not subscribe to that wicked decree and swear against the Pope, who were as many as then were alive, and in possession of the Bishoprics, which at the Parliament time were in number but fourteen. . . . To wit Bishop Heath of York," etc. (as given above).[1]

In the next century, moreover, when a controversy arose between Cardinal Bellarmine and the Protestant Bishop Lancelot Andrewes with reference to Elizabeth's ill-treatment of the Catholic Bishops, no other names were mentioned but those of these identical fourteen. For when Bellarmine had remarked upon the "very many Bishops" named by Sander, as cast by her into prison,[2] Andrewes retorted that the "*very many*" were *but these fourteen*, whom he went on to speak of individually;[3] attempting, however, in each case to disprove the persecution, with what success we shall see later on.

Nor does Camden mention any others in speaking of the deprived Bishops in his *Annals*, unless we take note of the evident blunder by which, after expressly saying that the deposed Prelates only numbered fourteen,[4] he goes on to make them *fifteen*; naming as one of them, Christopherson, Bishop of Chichester, who died, as Sander says,[5] of fever, and in December 1558, before as yet a single

[1] The above is from a transcript of Father Persons' manuscript, kindly lent to the writer by Father J. H. Pollen, S.J. Bishop Kitchin, who had also voted in Parliament against the oath, is apparently disregarded here by Persons on account of his subsequent apostasy. Bishop Morgan was hindered by his illness from attending, and Bishop Stanley had no seat in Parliament.

[2] *Responsio Matthæi Torti ad Apologiam pro Juramento Fidelitatis*, Col. Agrip. 1608, p. 38.

[3] *Tortura Torti, sive ad Matthæi Torti librum Responsio*, Londini, 1609, p. 145.

[4] *Annales ad an.* 1559, ed. 1615, p. 36.

[5] In his Report to Cardinal Morone in 1561 (Vat. MS. 64, t. 28, fol. 260), Sander tells how Bishop Christopherson died of a fever caught in attending Cardinal Pole's funeral at Canterbury. He had indeed *desired* to die a Martyr in the troubles which he saw were coming, but Sander says expressly, "*non erat apprehensus a satellibus neque in vincula ductus.*" The imprisonment of Christo-

Bishop had been deprived, and before Elizabeth's first Parliament had met. Even so, however—to say nothing here of other errors into which Camden falls—his enumeration is not right; since professing, as he does, to name all the Bishops whom Elizabeth declared deposed, he ought also to have mentioned Bishop Morgan of St David's, who, though saved by death from other penalties, was at all events deprived.

Although it is evident that the names of the eleven we are seeking must be included amongst these fourteen, we have still for our purpose to find out, more precisely than the lists yet quoted tell us, which out of the fourteen died in prison, and which of them in exile. With regard, however, to the latter, we learn from the same book of Dr Allen's that the exiles were no more than *two* in number; and on this point it is impossible that he could be mistaken, since he had every means of knowing the full number of the Bishops that escaped abroad. "Next we yield you," he says a little further on in the same passage, "in banishment two worthy English Prelates of the same dignity, the one dead, the other yet alive in Rome."[1]

pherson has, it is true, been affirmed by Cooper (*Athen. Cantab.* vol. i., p. 189), and even by Father Bridgett (p. 16); whilst Mr Gillow, in his *Dict. of Eng. Cath.*, actually says he died in prison! This, however, is based simply on the mistaken word of Sandys (*Zurich Letters*, 1st series, Ep. 2), who from Strasburgh, where he was still in exile, wrote to Bullinger on December 20, 1558, telling him that he had heard that, for a sermon preached by the Bishop of Chichester on the 2nd Sunday after Elizabeth's accession, the Queen had ordered him to prison. The mistaken rumour had arisen evidently from the confinement of the Bishop of *Winchester* to his house for his sermon at Queen Mary's funeral.

[1] *True, Sincere Defence*, etc., p. 45. A Latin version of this, published under the title of *Ad Persecutores Anglos* in the *Concertatio* of 1588, inaccurately renders the above sentence as follows: Opponimus deinde duos *alios* ejusdem dignitatis Præsules Anglos, alterum jam mortuum, alterum Romæ adhuc superstitem. Here the insertion of *alios* makes it seem as if Allen spoke of two Bishops *additional* to the fourteen; whereas it is quite certain that the one "yet alive at Rome" was Goldwell—

The same thing, as regards the number of the exiled Bishops, was again a few years later expressly stated by Father William Holt, S.J., in a report made to the Holy See in 1596.

"When Elizabeth," wrote Father Holt, "deprived all the Bishops and faithful clergy of their benefices, and cast them into prison, . . . all the Bishops, in their prisons till their death, with the greatest fortitude, defended the same faith which they had most diligently taught before; *two only excepted, who, in exile*, with like fortitude professed and bore witness to the self-same faith."[1]

The banished Prelate spoken of above by Allen, as "yet alive in Rome," was of course Bishop Goldwell of St Asaph, who there survived until April 3, 1585; whilst the exiled Bishop "*dead*" is disclosed to us in a still earlier list of the fourteen Bishops, published in 1571 by Sander, the historian, in his great work *De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiæ*.

In this book, which supplies the key to the inscription set up at the English College, Sander gave a long list of the sufferers under the Elizabethan Persecution, at the head of whom he placed the fourteen Bishops either exiled or imprisoned. These he divided, as follows, into two sets, according as they were already dead, or still living, when he wrote; noting carefully, moreover, the single exiled Bishop belonging to each set:—

one of the fourteen already referred to. This Latin version (which we have no need to suppose the work of Allen, and which contains long paragraphs not found in the English), misled the late Father J. Morris, S.J., in his article on the Deposed Bishops, in the *Month* for November, 1889, p. 350. In this article, Father Morris, "not having Allen's English book at hand," quoted—as proof that Dr Allen's "knowledge of detail was not complete," — the vague announcement made in the margin of fol. 301 of the *Concertatio*: "An Archbishop and *fifteen or sixteen* Bishops deposed together." The whole paragraph in question proves to be an addition to the original work of Allen; though, even if it came there, the words in the margin would tell nothing as to his own knowledge; referring, as they do, simply to some words quoted from Holinshed.

[1] Douai Diaries, Append., p. 376, from a paper in the Westminster Archives.

"English Bishops who have died either in prison or in exile.

Edmund Bonner of London,
John White (Vitus) of Winchester,
Cuthbert Tunstall of Durham,
Oglethorpe of Carlisle,
Pate of Worcester,
Bayne of Lichfield,
Thirlby of Ely,
Poole of Peterborough,
Bourne of Bath,
Scott of Chester, dead in exile (*in exilio defunctus*).

"English Bishops still detained in custody, or exiled, but surviving.

Heath, Archbishop of York,
Watson of Lincoln,
Turberville of Exeter,
Thomas Goldwell of St Asaph, (who) is in exile at Rome" (*Romæ exulat*).[1]

The list of sufferers, which Sander had thus given in his *De Visibili*, was republished by Bridgewater with additions in the *Concertatio* of 1588. By that time all the Bishops named above had long been dead, and they were accordingly arranged in different order by Bridgewater,

[1] *De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiæ*, Lovanii, 1571, p. 688. Bishop Turberville, here named as living, seems to have died while the book was in the press. In the list of sufferers the fourteen English Bishops are followed by six Irish ones—described by Sander, as "aut vincti, aut exules,"—of whom the first, Archbishop Creagh of Armagh, died actually in the Tower (though long after the erection of the English College pictures), on October 4, 1585. The other five all died, either still later, or at liberty.

We see that, in the above list, Sander names *ten* English Bishops as already dead. It is then a great surprise to find Father Morris, who usually was so exact, saying in the Article before referred to: "Sander, in his *De Visibili Monarchia*, says that *eight* of the English Bishops had died—and that four were still alive. He thus reckons *twelve only*" (p. 352). Father Morris could not have written this, if he had had the *De Visibili* before him; and what is even more surprising is, that he seems to have been unaware that Sander gives the Bishops' *names;* for he goes on to conjecture that one of the four, "whom Sander thought to be surviving," may have been Bishop Thirlby, whom Sander actually names amongst those dead. It seems necessary here to notice this, because it clearly shows how imperfectly Father Morris had got the true facts of the case before him, when he concluded, as he did in this article, that the eleven Bishops of the pictures could not be identified.

who placed first those that had died in prison, with the explicit statement opposite their names: *Hi omnes in vinculis obierunt Martyres.*

Moreover, still further to emphasise his veneration, he carefully added the same glorious title to the name of each one in the Index, thus:

"R^mus Nicolaus Hethus, Archiepiscopus Eboracensis et Angliæ Cancellarius obiit in vinculis Martyr."

"R^mus Richardus Pateus, Episcopus Wigorniensis obiit in vinculis Martyr"; (and so on of the rest).

The only disappointment is that, though professing to take the Bishops' names from Sander, by some accident he contrived to omit the name of Bishop Bayne of Lichfield, in regard to whom (as we shall see), Sander is especially explicit.

The two exile Bishops are named by Bridgewater after the others as follows:

"Cuthbert Scott, Bishop of Chester, died at Louvain.
"Thomas Goldwell of St Asaph died at Rome. Both of them in exile."[1]

All this abundantly suffices to distinguish the two Bishops that died in exile from the rest of the fourteen. In fact, the epitaph placed on the tomb of Bishop Scott, in the Church of the Franciscans at Louvain, is recorded by Molanus;[2] whilst the burial at Rome of Bishop Goldwell, in the Church of St Silvestro,[3] is mentioned by many writers.

If any further evidence were needed to prove that none of the other Bishops had managed to escape from England, we have a witness, who at all events was in no collusion with those already quoted, in the person of John Foxe, of whose so-called *Book of Martyrs* no less than four editions had appeared before his death in 1587. In this we find

[1] *Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ in Anglia. Augustæ Trevirorum*, 1588, fol. 403 b.

[2] *Historiæ Lovaniensium*, p. 785, ed. 1861. The epitaph states "Lovanii obiit die S. Dionysii, 1564."

[3] See his Life by Fr. Knox (*Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 260).

Foxe enumerating each of the above fourteen Bishops amongst those whom he oddly calls the "Persecutors," and whom God made examples of His "judgments." He puts only one of them, however, under the heading "Ran away," viz., "Goldwell, Bishop of St Asaph"; and says of "Cuthbert Scott, Bishop of Chester," that he "was in the Fleet, from whence he escaped to Lovane, and there died." All the rest, excepting those that died immediately after Mary, are simply put down as committed to the Tower, or to other prisons.[1]

Evidently, therefore, neither Foxe nor any other writer of the time itself had heard of any *third* Bishop having made good his escape; as was falsely asserted in the following century by Andrewes and Camden, with regard to Bishop Pate of Worcester,[2] whom Foxe rightly names amongst those "in the Tower," thus confirming what is said by Sander and Bridgewater. Indeed, to any one who bears in mind the multitude of English Catholic exiles, who then thronged the Continent, it is nothing less than an absurdity to suppose that, without any of these knowing it, one of their own deeply venerated Bishops had contrived to make his way abroad, and die unrecognised in their midst.

We are then now at last in a position to state with certainty the names of the eleven Bishops of the English College pictures; since, from the fourteen who have been so often mentioned, we have now only to deduct the two who died in exile, together with the Bishop of Lincoln, who was still alive in prison at the time of their erection.

The following, therefore, are the eleven Bishops described in the inscription, as having died for the faith, worn out by the sufferings of their long imprisonment:—

[1] *Acts and Monuments*, vol. iii., p. 804, ed. 1684.

[2] The origin of this false story will be shown further on; and we shall see in its own place that the State Papers themselves furnish proof enough of the continuance of Bishop Pate's imprisonment till his death. Thus, in the Acts of the Privy Council for 1565, the very year in which he died, he is spoken of as still in custody.

NAMES OF THE ELEVEN.

	Died
Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham,	Nov. 18, 1559.
Ralph Bayne, Bishop of Lichfield,	
Owen Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle,	Dec. 31, 1559.
John White, Bishop of Winchester,	Jan. 12, 1560.
Richard Pate, Bishop of Worcester,	Nov. 23, 1565.
David Poole, Bishop of Peterborough,	May, 1568.
Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London,	Sept. 5, 1569.
Gilbert Bourne, Bishop of Bath and Wells,	Sept. 10, 1569.
Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Ely,	Aug. 26, 1570.
James Turberville, Bishop of Exeter,	Nov. 1, 1570.
Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York,	Dec. 1578.

Before leaving the subject of these lists of the imprisoned Bishops, it is necessary to take notice of another not yet mentioned, which,—though really less correct than those already given,—has been much more often quoted, in consequence of the wide circulation of the book in which it is found.

Mention has been made already of Sander's unfinished *History of the English Schism*, to which a continuation containing the History of Elizabeth was added by Edward Rishton, a priest who, after being condemned to death along with B. Edmund Campion, was detained for years in the Tower, and then banished into France, where he died some six months later in the June of 1585.[1] In France Rishton had met Father Persons, at whose request (as he tells us in the Preface)[2] he undertook to edit Sander's *History*, although he died before it actually saw the light.

Finding, as he says, that Sander had only written "the story of *some* of the years of Elizabeth," Rishton thought it best to substitute for what Sander had written on that period a brief narrative of his own. In this he unfortunately gave an inaccurate list of the Bishops that had died in prison, which has been the chief seeming difficulty in the way of identifying the eleven.

This is all the more disappointing from its being so

[1] The Douai Diary records Rishton's death on June 29, 1585 (p. 206).

[2] He refers to Persons under the name of "Jodocus Skarnhert" (*Gillow's Dict. Eng. Cath.*, art. Rishton).

directly contrary to the purpose with which he drew up the list. For, after relating how, on account of their refusal to consent to the change of religion, "All the Bishops except one were shortly afterwards deposed from their rank and dignity, and committed to prisons and to various confinements, so that *all of them have now been put an end to* (exstincti sunt) by the protracted miseries of their condition," he adds, "I will here set down the names of these most glorious Confessors *to secure their perpetual remembrance.*"[1]

Then, placing in the margin the heading: "Names of the Bishops who *have died in prison* for their confession of the Catholic faith," he proceeds to name Archbishop Heath, Bishops Bonner, Tunstall, White, Watson,[2] Thirlby, Turberville, Bourne, Poole, Bayne, *Scott*, and Oglethorpe.

Thus, instead of Bishop Pate of Worcester, we here find Rishton naming Bishop Scott of Chester, who (although sent at first to prison), *died*, as we have seen, at Louvain, in exile; and it seems to have been, in order to supply at least in part for this defect, that Father Persons added at the end of the same volume his own list of the Bishops, which has been already quoted.

Sander himself had already, in his *De Visibili*, named Pate, as we have seen, amongst "the Bishops dead in prison"; and that it was his intention so again to name him in his *History*, had he been able to complete it, is made certain by the portion of Elizabeth's reign which he left already written. Rishton tells us that, when he undertook its publication, many written copies of the original work of Sander already had been taken; and

[1] *Sanderi de Origine. . . Schism. Angl., auctus per Ed. Rishtonum* 1585, fol. 157.

[2] In Lewis's translation of Sander's *History* (p. 260), Rishton's list is made more defective than ever by the additional omission of Bishop Watson, who however is distinctly named in the original as "Thomas Lincolniensis." Unfortunately, Father Bridgett made use of this translation (see *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.* p. 32), and he seems not to have consulted any of the other lists of the imprisoned Bishops, which have been already quoted.

one of these is still preserved at Rome in the English College.[1]

In this we clearly have the original from which Rishton drew his list of the imprisoned Bishops, and sixth amongst them stands the name of *Bishop Pate of Worcester*, whom the transcriber of the copy used by Rishton (who himself speaks of errors in it) must have accidentally omitted. This same manuscript of Sander's work, in which the other Bishops are named in the same order as in Rishton, shows us also how it was that, by the latter, Bishop Scott of Chester came to be named amongst those who had *died* in prison. For Sander was there speaking, not of the Bishops' deaths, but of their first committal to confinement, which Bishop Scott had suffered like the others. Rishton, however, who did not write until the last of them had died, was naturally led to lay stress upon their *deaths* thus suffered for the faith; only, in so doing, he forgot to note the false impression he was thus conveying as to Bishop Scott, by leaving his name amongst those of the Bishops who had actually died in chains.

Thus both the errors, which are found in Rishton's list, as it stands at present, are satisfactorily explained.

[1] A transcript of the latter portion of it, taken by the late Father Stevenson, S.J., has been kindly lent to the writer by Father J. H. Pollen. In this unfinished portion of his *History*, Sander had enumerated as follows the Bishops who, on their refusal of the oath, were, he says, deposed, and "paulatim aut in carcerem conjecti, aut certorum hominum custodiæ traditi. Primus, Nicolaus Hethus, Eboracensis Archiepiscopus. Deinde Episcopi, Edmundus Bonerus Londinensis, Joannes Vitus Vintoniensis, Cuthbertus Tonstallus Dunelmensis, Watsonus Lincolniensis, *Paceus Vigorniensis*, Thurlbeius Eliensis, Troblefildus Exoniensis, Burnus Bathoniensis, Polus Petroburiensis, Baynus Lichefildensis, Scottus Cestriensis."

The subsequent escape of Bishop Scott would, no doubt, have been mentioned here again by Sander, if he had been able to complete his *History*. But this fragment of it makes it clear that he was in no way answerable for Rishton's omission of the name of Bishop Pate. Bishop Oglethorpe, whose name Rishton added at the end to those of the above, had been already spoken of in Sander's manuscript in connection with his crowning of the Queen.

CHAPTER III

THE CONSPIRACY TO SUPPRESS THE TRUTH AS TO THE PERSECUTION OF THE BISHOPS. BULLINGER'S ANSWER TO ST PIUS V.'S BULL, AND THE DISHONEST ALTERATIONS MADE IN IT BY COX AND OTHERS

To any one whose ideas are drawn from the writings of Lord Burghley and of Camden, or of the many authors who do but repeat their assertions, the notion of eleven Bishops (or twelve when we add Bishop Watson) having perished in the first years of Elizabeth from their sufferings in prison, must seem, of course, too much at variance with received tradition to be seriously entertained.

Yet the two writers above named, whose words, says Father Bridgett, "our historians both Protestant and Catholic have been satisfied to reproduce without an attempt to test or verify their assertions, were both mere partisans of Elizabeth; and on this subject, at least, they practised deliberate suppression of the truth, while half their statements are not only inaccurate, *but false*, as may be proved by unimpeachable documents."

For an admirable exposure of the various misrepresentations and untruths which are contained in the accounts of the deposed Bishops given by Lord Burghley in his *Execution of Justice in England* in 1583; and by Camden, with additional misstatements, in his *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, first published in Latin in 1615; the reader must be referred to the first chapter of Father Bridgett's book,[1] from which the above is taken.

[1] *Queen Elizabeth and the Catholic Hierarchy*, 1889.

To the accounts of these two writers, which have most undeservedly been looked on as authoritative, is chiefly due the too-long-received tradition as to the kindness with which the deposed Catholic Bishops had been treated.

"Even Catholic writers," says Father Bridgett, "came to acquiesce in the accuracy of the Protestant tradition regarding Elizabeth's gentle courtesy. The early writers knew better, though they had no means of examining records; but when Strype was bold enough to 'doubt whether any of the Bishops were imprisoned after deprivation,' and accused 'Protestants of taking on credit what Popish authors wrote,' Catholics became afraid lest there had been some exaggeration, and, having no means of learning the truth, thought it better to follow their Protestant teachers." [1]

It is the purpose of the present work to make more clear than ever the untruthfulness of the received tradition, and to revive the too-long-forgotten memory of the holy and heroic Bishops, who to their last breath maintained the ancient faith, at the sacrifice of dignities, wealth, and liberty, and even of life itself.

Father Bridgett traces back the history of the untrue tradition no further than to Burghley's *Execution of Justice*, from which the deceptive account there given of the Bishops has been so continually quoted. But we shall get a better insight into the attempts, which from the very first were made by Burghley himself and others, to conceal the truth, if we look into the history of a still earlier version of the story, which with the full connivance of Lord Burghley was put forth some twelve years before the book just mentioned.

The alarm, which her excommunication by St Pius at first occasioned to Elizabeth and her advisers, is well known. Amongst other charges brought against her in the Bull of February the 25th, 1570, were the following:

"She has dared to take away their churches and benefices from Bishops, Rectors of churches, and other

[1] *Queen Elizabeth and the Catholic Hierarchy*, p. 11.

Catholic ecclesiastics, and has given them with other ecclesiastical goods to heretics. . . . She has cast into prison the Catholic Bishops and Rectors of churches, where many, worn out by their protracted sufferings and sorrow, have ended their days in misery."[1]

These words of the Pontiff naturally caused uneasiness, not merely to the Queen herself, but also to the above-mentioned "heretics," on whom she had bestowed the bishoprics of the Prelates so unjustly dispossessed; well understanding, as they did, that their own position would be forfeited if the Papal Bull were put in force.

Amongst the Episcopal intruders there were several who, during the reign of Mary, had fled to Germany or Switzerland, where they had entered into intimate relations with Henry Bullinger, one of the leading Zwinglian ministers at Zurich, to whom afterwards, under Elizabeth, much of the correspondence, published as the *Zurich Letters*, was addressed. When looking, therefore, for support against the Pontiff, some of these applied for help to Bullinger, and amongst others Cox of Ely, whose letter, dated July 10, 1570, will help us both to understand what has to follow and to form some estimate of the fanatical intolerance of the first Protestant Bishops; who were, indeed, but little like in character to their successors of the present day.

"Since the Lord," wrote Cox to Bullinger, "has for so many years past employed you as his instrument to the great advantage of his church, you must persevere in the defence of the Church of Christ, as far as your age will allow you, even to the end of your life. Many of the heads of Antichrist yet remain to be cut off. . . . I wish you would in earnest use your endeavours for their extirpation. Antichrist" (*i.e.* the Pope) "relying on the authority of his church and councils, contends that faith is not to be kept with heretics, that is with those whom he judges to be such. Then he arrogates to himself the authority of recalling, and withdrawing, and absolving subjects from their fidelity and obedience to their princes and magistrates,

[1] *Baronii et aliorum Annales Ecclesiastici*, tom. 37, p. 169, ed. 1883.

and commands foreign powers to invade, desolate, and destroy godly magistrates, and deprive them of every right of government. This has been fully confirmed during the last month by a Popish Bull introduced by stealth into this country. Lastly, there are among us some Papists, and those not of the lowest rank, who strain every nerve that they may be permitted *to live according to their consciences*, and that no account of his religion be demanded from any one. Meanwhile many iniquitous practices take place in secret, and by the bad example they afford are a stumbling-block to the godly. If you will turn your attention to these three points, you will do a very acceptable service to Christ and his Church."[1]

We have no need to take notice of the misrepresentations in the earlier part of the above ; but it is well to direct attention to the words placed here in italics, which betray the fierce bigotry of this man whom Elizabeth had placed in one of the chief Bishoprics ; and to whom it evidently was a thing intolerable that a poor Catholic should ask to be allowed to live, no matter how quietly, *according to his conscience !*

A few weeks later, on August the 7th, Jewel, another of Elizabeth's new Bishops, whom she had placed in the See of Salisbury, wrote to Bullinger as follows, enclosing a copy of the Bull of the Queen's excommunication : "The most holy father . . . in his holiness and wisdom, secretly sent to his friends in England a Bull (shall I call it a golden or a leaden one?) of great importance. It was for some months carried about in obscurity and confined to a few. The good father declared that Elizabeth was not Queen of England, for that her institutions did not please him. . . . I send you a copy of that stinking and most worthless Bull, that you may understand with what solemn impudence that beast now rages !"[2]

[1] *Zurich Letters*, 1st series, Ep. 88, translated for the Parker Society, 1842.

[2] *Ibid.*, Ep. 91. The original text of Jewel's last refined remark is as follows : Mitto ad te exemplar illius putidissimæ atque inanissimæ Bullæ, ut intelligas quam illa bestia solemniter hoc tempore atque

Thus urged by his English friends, Bullinger composed in Latin a violent reply to the Pope's Bull, to which he prefixed a letter dedicating it to three of them, viz., to Grindal, then just moved from London to York, Cox of Ely, and Jewel of Salisbury. To each of these he sent a written copy of the work, leaving it to them to publish it in England.

Through some accident, however, the packet containing these three copies, which Bullinger had addressed to a London merchant of the name of Hilles (who acted as the medium of communication between him and his English friends), did not reach London till five months after its despatch from Zurich, as we learn from the following letter of Hilles to Bullinger, dated, London, July 27, 1571:

"I have only received this day your most gratifying letter from Zurich of the 25th of February in this present year, together with your three letters addressed to the Reverend Bishops of York, Ely, and Salisbury; and also the three copies in manuscript, of which you write in the letter above-mentioned: all of which I will take care shall be faithfully delivered to the Bishops to whom you have directed them. I certainly much wonder where they have been so long delayed in their journey. . . . That labour of yours, of which you inform me, in replying to the whole of that impudent Popish Bull, which the Roman Antichrist has vomited forth against our most serene Queen, will be without doubt very greatly approved by the three Bishops afore-mentioned, to whom you have sent those three copies; and if they think it for the good of the kingdom, and that it will be agreeable to her most serene highness, they will publish it. . . . I have taken care, previous to finishing this letter, that all the manuscript copies aforesaid . . . have been delivered to the right reverend Bishops to whom they were addressed. P.S.—July 31. Since my letter was sealed, I have seen and read your letter to the three right reverend Bishops, viz. York, Ely, and Salisbury, *already in print*, and

impudenter insaniat. The above translation of this sentence is not that of the Parker Society, in which Jewel's coarse expressions are toned down a little.

the first part also of your work above-mentioned from the manuscript copy, I understand, which you sent to the Lord Bishop of Ely,—*also printed;* and I am informed that some more pages of the same work are also printed; so that the whole of that manuscript copy of yours will be printed and published as soon as possible."[1]

From this we see the feverish eagerness with which Bullinger's reply to the Pope's Bull was welcomed by his English friends, who seem actually to have rushed it through the press in less than a fortnight from the time of its first reaching London.

Day himself, who published it, announced to Bullinger his completion of the work in a letter, the date of which is wanting, but which the editors of the *Zurich Letters* place on August 8, 1571. "I have finished printing your book," he wrote, "according to the copy sent me by the reverend father in Christ, Doctor Cox, and which *he had previously corrected* with the utmost diligence."[2]

In the words here printed in italics we have the publisher's own testimony to the fact that the book was not suffered to appear exactly in the form in which it came from Bullinger; and a letter of Parker's, written shortly afterwards in reply to one from Grindal, makes it clear that, in its "correction," Cox was not the only person implicated; but that some part had been taken in the matter both by Parker himself—Elizabeth's first Archbishop—and by Burghley.

To Grindal, we have seen, Bullinger had sent one of the three copies of his manuscript.[3] He, however, being absent in the north, had not received it until some weeks

[1] *Zurich Letters*, 1st series, Ep. 96.

[2] *Ibid.*, 2nd series, Ep. 74. The book appeared under the following title: "*Bullæ Papisticæ ante biennium contra Sereniss. Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hyberniæ Reginam Elizabetham . . . promulgatæ Refutatio, Henrychi Bullingeri S. Londini, apud Johañem Dayum Typographum., An. Dom.* 1571.

[3] Whether any action was taken or not, by Jewel, to whom the third copy of Bullinger's MS. was sent, does not appear. He was far from London at the time; and died on the following September 23, at Monkton Farleigh, near to Bath.

later than the others. Not knowing that the book had been already printed by his southern colleagues, Grindal wrote to Parker from Cawood, on August the 28th, asking his opinion on it.

"I have received a written book from Mr Bullinger against the Bull. Like copies, I perceive, were sent to my Lords of Ely and Sarum. I doubt not but your Grace hath seen it. I stand in doubt whether her Majesty and the Council would be contented that it were published in Latin or English, or both. It is possible they would not have the multitude to know that any such vile railing Bull had passed from that See. I would be glad to know your Grace's opinion in it."[1]

A draft of the reply, which Parker sent to Grindal, is preserved along with the original of Grindal's letter among the Petyt Papers in the Inner Temple Library. The following was his answer to the portion of the letter above quoted: "Mr Bullinger's book is done in Latin, not without the advice of my Lord of Burghley. The English is in doing. I caused one to be fair bound and sent it to her Majesty. As yet I hear no answer. . . . In printing of Bullinger *there is no alteration but in the 60th page*, as you may compare with your written book. I think your man shall bring you home one, or else I would have sent you one. . . . Lamhithe (Lambeth), September 8, 1571."[2]

Day's letter has already told us of Cox's "diligent correction" of the book; and here Parker himself kindly points out to us the actual and only page, on which an alteration has been made!

We have seen the haste with which the book was hurried through the press: and in this apparently we have the explanation of the strange disagreement that there is

[1] The entire letter is printed in *Remains of Archbishop Grindal*, p. 326.

[2] Inner Temple Library, Petyt MS., No. 538, f. 34. Copied for the present writer by Mr. R. Raikes Bromage. Strype gives the substance of the above portion of Parker's reply, though without any reference to the source whence he obtained it (*Life of Grindal*, p. 171). Elsewhere, however, he often refers to the Petyt Papers, from which he clearly took it.

between one portion of it and another; the assertions, as to the treatment of the Bishops, to be met with in the earlier portion of the book, being contradictory to those found on that very "60th page," which Parker tells us had been altered.

In their impatience to set before the public what they considered a triumphant answer to the Pope, neither Cox, nor Parker, nor even, it seems, Burghley, had taken notice of the variance between the two accounts here following of the Queen's action towards the Bishops, both of which are taken from this one same book. The following is what we find in it on page 47, written evidently by Bullinger himself.[1]

"The Queen of England has not sinned at all, nay, has but done her duty and merited eternal praise in succouring the English Church in its afflicted and depressed condition, and in taking up at first, and piously till now

[1] The following is the text of the original :—

"Nihil prorsus peccavit Sereniss. Regina Angliæ, imo suum officium fecit, et laudem æternam promeruit, quod afflictis fessisque Anglicanæ ecclesiæ rebus succurrens, et religionis causam suscipiens administrare cæpit, hactenusque pie administravit, dejectis e gradu et munere suo juratis Papæ episcopis ; Papam et Papistica, non Christum et syncerum ejus evangelium prædicantibus. . . . Non dicam in præsentia quam episcopi isti, quos Regina Sereniss. gradu officioque suo amovit, et in carceres conjecit, crudeles fuerint, dum rerum potiebantur, in fideles Christi Confessores ; quam denique pervicaciter idololatriæ et Romano idolo cui se juramento obstrinxerunt, adhæserint, pernitiosissimos manifestosque errores defenderint, infensique et implacabiles evangelicæ veritatis hostes fuerint, adeo ut non potuerit Sereniss. Regina eorum uti opera, neque debuerit dissimulare istorum rebellionem insidias atque studia prava, siquidem pacem regni, salutem populi et profectum Evangelii provehere, atque conservare voluit. Ergo quod hi in carceribus mærore confecti, misere, ut Bulla queritur, extremum diem obierunt, nihil hoc ad Reginam Sereniss. Hoc enim debent isti suæ injustæ pertinaciæ, pariter et malitiæ : debent hoc suæ rebellioni contumacissimæ, et in universum propriæ suæ iniquitati. . . . Cur itaque isti, quos Bulla luget, bonum non fecerunt? Sic enim laudem et præmia haud dubie tulissent a Regina benefica et munificentiss. Sibi ipsis ergo non Reginæ imputent commeritas illas suas calamitates. Nihil fecit hic Regina, quod non prius ita fieri præceperit, in lege sua Deus." (*Bullæ Papisticæ . . . Refutatio*, 1571, fol. 47.)

continuing the administration of religious matters; deposing from their grade and office the Bishops sworn to the Pope, who preached the Pope and Papistry, not Christ the Lord and His true Gospel. . . . I will not say at present how cruel, when in power, to the faithful confessors of Christ were those Bishops, whom the most Gracious Queen has removed from their rank and office, and has cast into prisons; nor, in fine, how obstinately they clung to idolatry and to the Roman idol to whom they had bound themselves by oath, defending errors most mischievous and manifest, and showing themselves implacable enemies to the Gospel truth; so that the most Gracious Queen could not employ their services, and was bound not to leave unnoticed their rebelliousness and treachery, and their base designs; if she wished, at any rate, to forward and preserve the peace of the realm, the safety of the people, and the advancement of the Gospel. Therefore, that these men have wretchedly ended their days in prison, as the Bull complains, worn out by suffering, is in no way the fault of the most Gracious Queen. For this they owe to their own wrong obstinacy and malice: they owe it to their own rebelliousness and contumacy, and to the wickedness of their whole conduct. . . . These men, then, over whom the Bull laments—why did they not do what is right? For, doing so, they would undoubtedly have won praise and recompense from the kind and generous Queen. To themselves, then, and not to the Queen, let them attribute their richly merited misfortunes! In this matter the Queen has done nothing, which God in His own law has not ere now commanded to be done."

Here, then, at all events, Bullinger makes no attempt either to dispute, or minimise, the Bishops' sufferings; but, on the contrary, in the plainest terms, he admits the fact of their imprisonment and of their death in consequence. Indeed, his sole defence of the Queen consists in repeatedly asserting that they had deserved their fate, which they had brought upon themselves.

To anyone, moreover, who will make a little study of the *Zurich Letters*, it becomes clear at once that Bullinger

was here but repeating what his English friends themselves had all along been writing, either to himself, or to his fellow ministers at Zurich; to whom they had gleefully sent tidings of each new suffering that befell the Bishops.

Without anticipating more than need be things to be narrated fully later, it is sufficient here to note a few of the communications of this kind, which had been sent to Zurich in the course of the preceding years by one or other of Elizabeth's new Bishops.

Thus, on the first committal of two Bishops to the Tower in the April of 1559, we find Jewel, only two days later (with loving salutations to Master Bullinger and others) thus announcing the event to Peter Martyr. "Your friend White, Bishop of Winchester, and Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, were committed to the Tower for open contempt and contumacy. There they are now employed *in castrametation!*"[1]

Less than a year afterwards, on February 4, 1560, with like unseemly satisfaction, Jewel makes known to Martyr and his fellows the deaths of this same Bishop White and of three others: "You should know," he writes, "that your friend White, the *great* and *popular* Bishop of Winchester, Oglethorpe of Carlisle, Baines of Lichfield, and Tunstall the *Saturn* of Durham, all died some days since." "White," he adds on March 5, "who so *candidly* and *kindly* wrote against you, is dead, as I think, from rage."[2]

A little later, when the surviving Bishops—till then confined in the Protestant Bishops' houses—had begun to be removed into the Tower, Jewel at once writes of it to Martyr on May 22, 1560; and again, on February 7, 1562, assures him that "the Marian Bishops are still confined in the Tower, and are going on in their old way."[3]

Even Cox himself, who now had the hardihood to alter the work of Bullinger in the way that we shall see—had written, on August 5, 1562, to Martyr (with a special "salute to Master Henry Bullinger"): "The heads of our

[1] *Zurich Letters*, 1st series, Ep. 5.
[2] *Ibid.*, Ep. 29 and Ep. 30.
[3] *Ibid.*, Ep. 33 and Ep. 43.

Popish clergy are still shut up in prison:"[1] whilst, fifteen days afterwards, Parkhurst of Norwich wrote to Bullinger himself: "The pseudo Bishops, who are in the Tower of London, will soon render an account of their perfidy (*suæ perfidiæ*)."[2]

Similarly, when, after having been for a time distributed again amongst the Protestant Bishops' houses, the confessors were sent back once more to the Tower in the June of 1565, the fact was announced next month to the Zurich ministers by Horne, who wrote to Gualter on July 17: "The Papist Primates are now in the public prisons."[3]

These few quotations from the published *Zurich Letters* (and we have no means of knowing how many like communications have been lost), are of themselves enough to show that, when the Pope complained that a number of the Bishops had already died of their sufferings in prison, the statement would be necessarily received by Bullinger, as but a repetition of what his own English friends had told him: especially as, in addition to those above-named to him as dead by Jewel, many of the others also had died since, of the deaths of some of whom (for example, Bishop Bonner's) he must almost certainly have heard. In fact, by the time that his book was given to the world in its altered form, only two of the imprisoned Bishops seem to have been left alive, viz., the Archbishop of York, at that moment in private custody at Chobham, and the Bishop of Lincoln in the Tower.[4]

To no one can the deaths of the imprisoned Prelates, as each one of them occurred, have been known more surely than to Lord Burghley, on whom had throughout depended everything affecting their confinement; and to

[1] "Adhuc in carcere clauduntur," Ep. 49. [2] *Ibid.*, Ep. 53.

[3] "Primates papistici in publicis custodiis"—*Ibid.*, Ep. 64. To both Horne and Parkhurst Bullinger sent greetings in the Prefatory Letter to his book; and in his letter to Grindal of September 8, Parker mentions Horne, as with him at the time.

[4] These facts will, of course, be substantiated in their proper place.

Parker, who not only was at the head of the Commission which had sentenced them, but in whose own house two of them had died imprisoned. The same must also be true with reference to Cox, who from the first had been an active member of the same Commission.

These three men nevertheless were the very ones that made themselves responsible for the *altering* of that "60th page" of Bullinger's book, on which—in direct denial of what he had himself before admitted—he was there made to speak of the Bishops, as if they not only were all still alive in ease and comfort; but, as if only one or two of them had ever been imprisoned! For this is what we read upon the 60th page:—

"The Bull, moreover, insolently goes on to make the lying assertion that the Catholic Bishops, worn out by their sufferings in prison, end their days in misery. How groundless this is the facts themselves declare, which are well known to all the people of the realm. On the contrary, in the kingdom of England (as I have heard from persons most worthy of belief), the Popish Bishops are treated kindly, and far better than they have deserved. Some of them dwell at liberty in the house of the Archbishop, or of one of the Bishops, where they feed sumptuously and free of cost, and sometimes even sit down at their tables. Others live in complete freedom, either in their own houses, or with friends. Some very few, being forsooth enemies of the Gospel and all piety, turbulent men and unable to be quiet, have, indeed, been put in prison to hinder them from disturbing everything. There they move about with liberty enough; and so far from meeting their last day worn out with affliction, they are alive and lusty and have a merry time." [1]

[1] "Pergit prœterea impudenter mentiri bulla, Catholicos episcopos in carcere mœrore confectos, extremum diem misere obire, quam vanum hoc sit, testatur res ipsa universo regni populo notissima. Imo (quemadmodum a viris fide dignissimis accepi) episcopi papistici humaniter et longe aliter quam sunt meriti, in regno Angliæ tractantur. Quorum alii in Archiepiscopi, vel in episcoporum ædibus libere versantur, lauteque et gratis pascuntur ipsorumque mensis interdum accumbunt: Alii liberrime habitant vel in suis ædibus vel apud

How this passage had originally run in Bullinger's own manuscript, will now apparently be never known; but it seems useless to make any comment on the effrontery of the denial (thus put into his own mouth), of what, on the word of the men themselves who now made him deny it, he had before so unreservedly admitted.

This much, however, is at all events made clear by the proceeding: viz., the anxiety of Burghley and the others to conceal the cruelty with which the Bishops had been treated.

Day, the printer of the book thus amended, had informed Bullinger in his letter of August 8, 1571 (part of which has been already quoted), that, in accordance with instructions given him by Cox, he was sending to him "half-a-dozen or more" copies of the book. Six months later Cox himself, who seems to have felt no shame at the deceit that he had practised, wrote to Bullinger on February 12, 1572, hoping that he had "long since received the books," and telling him how much his work had gratified the Queen. This letter of Cox's is still preserved at Zurich; and it seems not without significance that, opposite to the words just quoted, it bears written on the margin in Bullinger's own hand, the words: *Nihil allatum est, nihil accepi, nec quicquam hujus vidi.*[1] Can it be that, fearing an exposure, Lord Burghley had forbidden Day to send the books to Zurich?

We saw from Parker's answer to the question put to him by Grindal, that the *Refutatio*, which in 1571 appeared in Latin, was being then already translated into English. The English version of the book came out in 1572. In it, by means of the insertion into the first mention of the Bishops of an "*if*" (of which there is no trace in the Latin), Bullinger was made to speak of their death in prison

amicos: pauci admodum, nimirum evangelii et omnis pietatis hostes, et homines turbulenti et quietis impatientes in custodiam quidem, ne omnia turbarent traditi sunt: ubi satis libere vagantur, nec mærore confecti extremum diem obeunt, imo vivi, valentes atque hilares ætatem degunt (*Bullæ Papisticæ*, fol. 60).

[1] *Zurich Letters*, 2nd series, Ep. 78, and note.

hypothetically, thus: "Therefore *if* these men pined away for sorrow, and died miserably in prison, that is nothing to the Queen's Majesty."[1] Thus, in order to bring the two parts of the book into agreement, they had found themselves obliged to mistranslate the first as well; and even so, the inconsistency was not entirely removed.

These facts are enough to show that the tradition as to the kindly treatment of the Bishops, which writer after writer has contentedly repeated without ever examining its source, owes its origin to a real conspiracy amongst their oppressors for the suppression of the truth.

As far as the existing records will permit, we must now attempt to trace the history of the sufferings and persecution under which these holy Prelates closed their lives; and in so doing we shall be met by other instances, at least quite as glaring, of the shameless untruthfulness of those who were allowed to fix the commonly received tradition.

[1] *A Confutation of the Pope's Bull* . . . by Henry Bullinger the Elder. Printed by John Day, 1572, fol. 47 b.

CHAPTER IV

ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH, AND BEGINNINGS OF THE PERSECUTION. FIRST EFFORTS OF THE BISHOPS TO AVERT THE THREATENED CHANGE. CORONATION OF THE QUEEN

WE have already seen something of the veneration in which the last Bishops of the ancient Hierarchy were held by the Catholics of their own time, who did not hesitate to rank them amongst the Confessors and Martyrs.

Amongst the generations which came after, it is only natural that we should find them spoken of less often,—partly through the gradual establishment of a false tradition in the way shown in the last chapter; partly through the very glory of the public martyrdoms, which quickly followed, and which drew away the attention even of the Catholics from the holy Bishops quietly extinguished in their prisons.

Still, that the memory of these latter did not quickly die away, is shown by the enthusiasm with which long afterwards they were referred to. Of this we may take the following as an example from the annual letter of the Jesuit missionaries for the year 1614, in which the writer had been speaking of the usurping Prelates put into their places.

"Our Catholic writers have never ceased from attacking these State Bishops, especially when some began to boast that Parker, their first Archbishop of Canterbury, had been consecrated by our Bishops—a figment which is more than sufficiently disposed of by the constancy of which the

Marian Bishops gave proof. None can forget how universally *they* withstood the Calvinistic poison, and *sacrificed place and position to end their days in various prisons.* No one has ever laid to their charge that they swerved as much as a hair's-breadth from the path of truth."[1]

To the same effect, an earlier Jesuit missionary, Father William Holt (some words of whose report to the Holy See in 1596 have been already quoted), had not hesitated to name first of all amongst the causes of the faith having been preserved "during the previous thirty-eight years of persecution, . . . *the constancy and invincible fortitude of all the Bishops* and of many other priests, whom Queen Mary had left behind her."[2]

It is indeed time that the memory of these great servants of God,—for such they evidently were,—should once more be drawn from its undeserved obscurity!

It is quite true that, in the almost universal apostasy under the fierce Henry VIII., some of the same Prelates, who so fearlessly defended the faith under Elizabeth, had previously weakly yielded to her father.

But the unworthiness of their behaviour at an earlier period (which they themselves most bitterly deplored) must not be allowed to rob them of the glory of their later good confession; and, amongst the Saints now honoured by the Church as great and veritable Martyrs, it is not difficult to mention some whose courage had at one time failed them; as did St Peter's in the court of the high priest, and our own St Thomas's at Clarendon.

We shall not then here concern ourselves, unless incidentally, with the history of our Bishops previous to the death of Mary; but shall begin with the accession to the throne of Queen Elizabeth, which marked the commencement of their troubles.

The deliberate premeditation, with which the changing of the religion of the country was planned and carried out by Elizabeth and her crafty counsellors, is proved by the

[1] Foley, *Records of the English Province*, vol. vii., p. 1047.

[2] *Douai Diaries*, Appendix, p. 283.

document entitled: "The Device for alteration of religion in the first year of Queen Elizabeth," which is still preserved amongst the Cottonian manuscripts. This same document shows also how fully the schemers had reckoned on the opposition to it of the Bishops, although probably enough they hardly expected to find in them the invincible firmness that they did.

The document is thus summarised by Father Bridgett: "Elizabeth and some of her friends had made up their minds to an 'alteration in religion.' A document of Sir William Cecil or Sir Thomas Smith is still in existence, in which the full scheme is drawn out in detail. Until things were ripe, the Holy Mass was to continue, and no innovation to be allowed. 'As for Her Highness's conscience till then, if there be some other devout sort of prayer or memory and the seldomer Mass.' The plotter anticipated that 'Bishops and all the clergy will see their own ruin. In confession and preaching they will persuade the people from it. They will conspire with whosoever will attempt, and pretend to do God a sacrifice in letting the alteration, though it be with murder of Christian men and treason.' To counteract these supposed dangers, it was proposed that 'the Bishops and clergy, being all made and chosen such as were thought the stoutest and mightiest champions of the Pope's Church . . . these Her Majesty, being inclined to use much clemency, yet must seek, as well by Parliament as by the just laws of England, in the *præmunire* and other such penal laws, to bring again in order; and being found in default, not to pardon, till they confess their fault, put themselves wholly to Her Highness's mercy, abjure the Pope of Rome, and conform themselves to the new alteration. And by these means well handled, Her Majesty's necessity of money may be somewhat relieved.'"[1]

Such was the plot for the destruction of the ancient faith of England, which, even before Queen Mary's death, was hatched by those who had already transferred their

[1] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 15. The *Device* is printed in full in Strype's *Annals*, vol. i., Appendix, p. 4, ed. 1709.

services to her half sister; and whilst both Elizabeth and they, at all events externally, professed themselves still Catholics.

Elizabeth's accession to the throne took place on November 17, 1558, on which same day both Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole had died; and, though careful not too hastily to reveal her full intentions, she began at once to act upon the plan sketched out in the above *Device*, removing Catholics from posts of trust, and putting men into their places who would help to carry out the change resolved on. Thus little more than a month after her accession, we find Sandys (one of the refugees under Queen Mary, who was named a little later by Elizabeth to the See of Worcester), sending on to Bullinger from Strasburg the news, which had there already reached him, that the Queen had "changed almost all her counsellors, and taken good Christians into her service in the room of papists." [1]

In the following account of the beginning of the persecution, we shall have frequent occasion to refer, amongst other documents, to a Report of the occurrences in England during the first years of Queen Elizabeth, which was drawn up in 1561, at Cardinal Morone's own request, and presented to him by Nicolas Sander the historian.

This invaluable document, from which we shall often have to quote, has never (as far as the writer knows) been yet printed, although some sentences are quoted from it in Father Bridgett's *Queen Elizabeth and the Catholic Hierarchy*. It is preserved in the secret archives of the Vatican; [2] and "to any one who shall write a full history of the Reformation," remarks Fr. Bridgett, "this authentic report of Sander's will be indispensible."

[1] *Zurich Letters*, 1st series, Ep. 2. Sandys' letter is dated Strasburg, December 20, 1558.

[2] *Archiv. Secret. Vatic.* 64, t. 28, fol. 252-274. The portions of Sander's Report here quoted are translated from a transcript of it, taken by the late Fr. J. Stevenson, S.J., and lent to the writer by Fr. J. H. Pollen, S.J. There is another transcript of it (in some things even fuller), at the Record Office, amongst the *Bliss Roman Transcripts*.

The allusion, with which the Report commences, to Pope St Antherus's zeal in seeking out the Martyrs' Acts makes it quite clear that both Sander himself and the Cardinal he was addressing looked upon the English sufferers, who then filled the prisons of Elizabeth, as deserving the same veneration as the Christian victims of the early persecutions. It is only necessary to premise that Cardinal Morone, before whom, as "Protector of the English nation," it was laid, was the Cardinal to whom was especially committed by the Pontiff the care of matters connected with the Church in England. The Report thus had the character of an official document. The following are its opening words :—

"Although there cannot be anything that concerns the state of England which is not known to your excellency, who receives accurate information both through communications made to you by others, and through your own spontaneous enquiries; nevertheless, since the Blessed Antherus, Pope and Martyr, not content with knowing the mere fact that very many had laid down their lives for Christ, enquired also diligently for their Acts; I have concluded that you also, most illustrious Cardinal Morone, following in the footsteps of the same, will be glad to receive—in addition to the general report of the constancy of the Bishops of England—a particular account also of the acts of each of them. For since you had asked me for the actual names of the ones imprisoned, I thought that the story of their words and actions would be still more pleasing to you. For, if these are such as to be all numbered by God in Heaven, and to have there laid up for each of them a sure reward; ought not we, in this vale of tears, to judge them worthy of a careful record and of the utmost praise? This being so, relying, most Reverend Cardinal, upon your kind indulgence, I will relate with greater brevity than the importance of the subject deserves such things as have happened to us in the last two years and a half."

After this introduction Sander goes on to speak of the state of desolation, in which the simultaneous deaths of

Queen Mary and of their Cardinal Archbishop had left the "little band of Bishops," whose number had already been reduced by the deaths of others; and he compares their feelings to those of the first Roman Christians, when St Peter and St Paul were both martyred on one day, and the cruel Nero was threatening to immolate the rest. He then relates the efforts of the Bishops to secure the preservation of the Catholic faith, declaring them to have "acted just as at such a time the most perfect of men should have done, seizing every opportunity of preaching, and of testifying both to princes and to people their own fidelity and that of their ancestors to the Holy Church."

By the death of Cardinal Pole the leadership had devolved upon Archbishop Heath of York, who, in addition to his archbishopric, had also held during the later years of Mary the office of Lord Chancellor. Heath's gentle uprightness of character has been praised even by writers of most opposite opinions, whilst his blamelessness of life allowed no ground of accusation even to his enemies; although beneath the gentle kindness of his nature there lay a quiet resolution, in matters which concerned his conscience, for which Cecil and his fellow plotters were probably not quite prepared. His influence over his fellow Bishops is best shown by what Sander writes of him further on in this same Report, namely, that "they regarded him as monks do their abbot."

And yet, under the cruel Henry, Heath too had yielded like so many others; whether through mere weakness, or through that sort of mental blindness, which seems then to have hindered even some good men from rightly seeing the real issue at stake. Six years, indeed, after the commencement of the schism, Heath had even consented to receive a bishopric from Henry, and in 1540 had been schismatically consecrated to the See of Rochester, without any sanction from the Pope. In spite, however, of having entered so inauspiciously on his episcopal career, his eyes, as well as those of Bishop Bonner, who had been consecrated with him, were effectually opened by the events

which followed; and even before the kingdom was restored to Catholic unity under Mary, they had both proved the sincerity of their conversion by their cheerful endurance of imprisonment under Edward VI.

Heath's anxiety, indeed, to make sure that his illicit reception of the episcopate had been pardoned by the Holy Father, was made plain by what happened on his being nominated to the archbishopric of York in 1555. He had already been set free from censures by Cardinal Pole, acting as Legate from Pope Julius III.; and from the first the Queen, with Pole's approval, had marked him out for the northern archbishopric, of which she conferred the temporalities on him on March 26, 1555. In a Consistory held on the following June the 21st, Pope Paul IV. confirmed his nomination to that See, and the Pallium was granted him on August the 23rd.

When, however, the documents arrived from Rome, Heath found that he was described in these simply as a cleric licensed to receive episcopal consecration, without any mention of the consecration he had illicitly though validly received in schism. He therefore obtained from the Pope a fresh Bull of confirmation, dated October 30, 1555, in which it was expressly mentioned that "during the prevalence of the schism . . . he had been instituted *de facto* Bishop, first of Rochester, and then of Worcester," and in virtue of it had "received the gift of consecration from certain schismatical bishops." The Bull concludes: "We therefore wishing to provide for your state, so that with a pure heart and sound conscience you may preside over the said church of York . . . decree that our aforesaid provision and appointment and our letters . . . shall be of force . . . and enable you to use . . . the gift of consecration received by you, as is related, and the Pall to be assigned to you," etc.[1]

Thus completely rehabilitated, it was to Archbishop Heath that fell the great honour of conferring consecration upon Cardinal Pole (when appointed to the See of Canterbury in 1556), by whom he himself had previously

[1] See Dr Maziere Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. i., p. 93.

been absolved from censures ; and the Cardinal gave proof of the trust which he reposed in him by naming him one of his executors in his last will."[1]

On Queen Mary's death Heath, as Lord Chancellor, had no choice but to proclaim her successor, which he did in Parliament on the same day, though no doubt with a heavy heart. He took occasion, however, of his first visit to the new Queen, on the next day at Hatfield, to resign into her hands the Great Seal ; well knowing doubtless how impossible it would be for him to remain in office under the new regime. The Seal was accepted from him by Elizabeth with outward expressions of regret, though probably with real inward satisfaction.[2] She refused, however, as yet to release him from her service altogether ; and so for a short time longer the Archbishop was obliged to remain a member of the Privy Council ; though we see from its Acts for the period that he was seldom present at its meetings, and that his attendance ceased after January the 5th, 1559.

The situation during the first month of the reign of Elizabeth is thus described in a letter, written to his royal master by the Spanish Ambassador, the Count de Feria, dated December 14, 1558.

"The kingdom is entirely in the hands of young folks, heretics, and traitors, and the Queen does not favour a single man whom her Majesty, who is now in heaven" (Queen Mary), "would have received ; and will take no one into her service who served her sister when she was Lady Mary. She seems to me incomparably more feared than her sister was, and she gives her orders and has her way as absolutely as her father did. . . . They are so suspicious of me that not a man amongst them dares to speak of me, as the late Chancellor" (Archbishop Heath) "has told me plainly. He is a worthy person, and she knows it ; but he is not in the gang and will not return to

[1] See *Wills from Doctors' Commons*, Camden Society, 1863, p. 52.

[2] The official memorandum of Heath's resignation of the Seal, on November the 18th, 1558, is quoted by Lord Campbell from the Close Rolls, *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. ii., p. 207.

office. He tells me that if they offered it to him, he would not accept it."[1]

How far the good Archbishop really acted wisely in thus at once giving up the chancellorship, may perhaps admit of question; though it is not easy for us now to judge correctly of the difficulties in which he then found himself. But the above letter of De Feria's shows us at all events how much relieved he was at being set free from an office, which (as he says himself in a letter to be quoted later) he had always felt to be "a great burden."[2]

In his Report to Cardinal Morone, Sander relates that, during the short time that the Archbishop still retained his seat in the Privy Council (although no longer Chancellor), he resolved to try what could be done to save religion by appealing to the youthful Queen in person.

[1] *Spanish Calendar*, December 14, 1558.

[2] The above facts show sufficiently how much misled Father Persons had been as to this, in his estimate of Heath's conduct, expressed forty years after the event in his MS. *Story of Domestical Difficulties*. In this, in speaking of Heath's opposition to a proposal made about this time to excommunicate the Queen, he mentions him, as "Chancellor that had been of England, and *was at that time in name*—though in effect Bacon being made Lord Keeper did all"; and goes on to say that "*with this simple bait of favour* did the heretics hold this good man, Dr Heath, so faint in the Catholic part, and for that he had been the Queen's godfather—as, albeit he lost his archbishopric, yet would he never yield to any resolute action of the Catholics against the heretics." We have seen that Heath of his own accord resigned the chancellorship, on the very day after Elizabeth's accession; and that De Feria speaks of him as "the *late* Chancellor" on the following December the 14th. It seems clear then that, at that time, he was no longer Chancellor even "in name"; and less so than ever after Bacon's appointment as "Lord Great Seal," on December the 22nd (see Acts of Privy Council for 1558). Father Persons seems also wrong in supposing that Heath (who at Elizabeth's birth in 1533 had not yet risen to any prominent position) had been her godfather. The names of all who took any part in the "Christening of the Lady Elizabeth" are given by Nichols, in his *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i., p. 2; but the only god*father* mentioned is "Lorde Thomas (Cranmer), Archbyshoppe of Canterburie." As to the opposition made by Archbishop Heath (and

"With the common approval," he writes, "of his brethren, that they might in no way fail in their duty, Dr Heath, Archbishop of York, the best and wisest of all those now in England, presented himself before Elizabeth of whose Council he was still a member, either because a man so sage as he, who had so blamelessly and faithfully discharged the office of High Chancellor, could not be put aside without reflection on the Queen herself; or else in hope that by this favour he might more easily be allured to give up the Catholic faith, and be drawn over to her side. It is said then that, having obtained a private audience, and cast himself upon his knees, he, with many tears, conjured the Queen, by the name of Jesus Christ, not to lay her woman's hand upon the sacred mysteries." He reminded her that he himself had been "a Bishop under her father and her brother, and Archbishop and Chancellor of the realm under her sister Mary," and he pleaded his own long experience of "the great harm which was occasioned to the State by frequent changes in even its judicial laws. How much less then ought this to be attempted with regard to its religion!"

He concluded with the distinct and solemn warning that, "if—which God forbid!—anything so disastrous should take place as the overthrow of religion in the kingdom, not even in the smallest matter would he himself depart from the decrees of the Catholic Church a finger's breadth; and that, in that cause, he would to his dying day, and with all his strength and energy, resist every attempt, whether of others, or of the Queen herself."

"On his finishing to speak," continues Sander, "the Queen, who had at once bidden the Reverend Father to arise, addressed to him many consoling words, and promised to do nothing which was not approved of by many most prudent men (at the head of whom she acknowledged him to stand), in fact by the whole kingdom in Parliament assembled."

The sequel will show how faithfully the good Arch-

apparently justified by Card. Allen), to the proposed excommunication of the Queen by the Bishops, more will be said later.

bishop, through long years of imprisonment and suffering, persevered in carrying out the courageous warning, of which Sander here tells us almost at the time itself.

Amongst the other Bishops who at this time, whilst their liberty of speech was not yet interfered with, especially distinguished themselves by their zeal in preaching, Sander mentions Bishop Scott of Chester and Bishop Bayne of Lichfield. Both of these, he says, "discoursed so well upon the unity of the Church, the Holy Eucharist, and the Supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, that nothing more forcible, or more appropriate to the cause and to the circumstances, could be said."

To the latter of these zealous Prelates, Bishop Bayne of Lichfield, belongs apparently the glory of having throughout kept clear of any participation in the schism. As a youth, he had entered St John's College at Cambridge, whilst B. John Fisher, its founder, was still Chancellor of the University, and he became an imitator of that holy Martyr's constancy. "Having obtained his degree of Doctor of Divinity at home," says Dodd, in his account of him, "he went over to Paris, where for some time he was Royal Professor of Hebrew. He spent his days abroad all the latter end of Henry VIII.'s reign, and during the reign of Edward VI."[1] On the accession of Queen Mary, he had been consecrated to the See of Lichfield and Coventry on November 18, 1554.

The sermon, however, which at this time produced the most impression, was that preached on the occasion of Queen Mary's funeral, on December 14, by Bishop White of Winchester, of which Sander spoke in his Report as follows:—

"Seeing that everything was going in the wrong direction and from bad to worse, the Bishop of Winchester, in presence of the leading men of the whole kingdom assembled for Queen Mary's funeral, with great boldness and freedom preached the same truths as those already mentioned had done, declaring moreover that he [as a Bishop] was placed upon a watch tower to see that the

[1] *Church History of England*, vol. i., p. 489, ed. 1737.

Church of Christ received no harm. That he knew, however, that raging wolves from Geneva were approaching, whom in God's name he most earnestly implored his hearers neither to believe nor listen to, for the salvation of their own souls, and the honour of their country. And so powerful was the impression made on all by this discourse, that on its conclusion one of the chief men then present declared that, if anyone should be still bent on casting himself into the infernal pit, at all events this Bishop would not only not be answerable, but would have done all in his power to prevent it."

Who "the approaching wolves" were, against whom the good Bishop warned his hearers, is told us by De Feria in a letter written on the very day this sermon was delivered. "All the heretics who had escaped," he wrote to King Philip, "are beginning to flock back again from Germany, and they tell me there are some pestilential fellows amongst them."[1] So overcome, indeed, with grief was the good Bishop, says another writer, that, in delivering his sermon, he "fell into such an unfeigned weeping, that for long space he could not speak."[2]

Something can be gathered as to the character of Bishop White, the preacher of this sermon, from what Sander tells us, in his *History*, as to his zealous conduct in the time of Edward VI., when Winchester School, of which he then was warden, was visited by the dreadful sweating sickness. At Winchester, in still earlier days, Sander himself had been one of his pupils.

"In the same year [1551], a certain disease," writes Sander, "called the sweating sickness, raged in England; in the city of London alone, eight hundred persons died of it within a week, and many thousands throughout the country. Ford, the second master of Winchester School, perverted Joliffe, the head boy, and made him a Calvinist heretic. He in turn brought over the other boys, for the most part, to his opinion. God visited this Joliffe and

[1] *Spanish Calendar*, December 14, 1558.

[2] Sir John Harrington's *Briefe View*, p. 60, ed. 1653. Quoted in Lewis's Sander, p. 208, note.

others, some of whom were of kin to him, and the rest his friends, and brought this sickness upon them. Then he brought them to salutary penance *through the preaching of that most saintly man John White*, and soon after took them away by death. All the other boys, nearly two hundred in number, were either converted to the Catholic faith or so strengthened therein, that in after-life, by telling the story of this divine visitation, they brought many others back from the heresy of Calvin to the unity of the Catholic Church."[1]

The incident, which Sander thus relates, cannot have occurred later than the spring of 1551[2]; for on the 25th of March of that same year, we find Dr White committed to the Tower. "Refusing to give in," writes Bishop Milner, "to the irreligious measures of the Duke of Somerset, he was deprived of his wardenship, and committed prisoner to the Tower, where he lay until the reign of Mary."[3] In confirmation of this, we read in the recently published Acts of the Privy Council that, on March 25, 1551, "White, Warden of Winchester, appeared before the Council, and confessed that he had received divers books and letters from beyond the sea, and namely from one Martin, a scholar there, who repugneth the King's Majesty's proceedings utterly[4]; and being manifest that he hath consented to things of that sort, in such wise

[1] *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*, translated by D. Lewis, p. 207.

[2] Even in the previous year, the disease had become so prevalent in the provinces, that a Proclamation was published by the Council forbidding to private persons any access to the Court, "under pain of imprisonment," etc. (See Acts of the Privy Council, August 22, 1550.)

[3] *History of Winchester*, 1798, vol. i., p. 363.

[4] The immediate occasion of Dr White's being brought before the Council was the seizure of William Seth, servant to Bishop Bonner (then in prison), "taken with bringing a barrel of Dr Smith's most false and detestable books from Paris." Seth was examined by the Council on March 7, 1551, when he owned to having "brought another letter to one White, Warden of Winchester, from T. Martyn, a student in Paris, touching books which he could not provide for the said White, according to his request" (*Hist. MSS., Com. Report of MSS., of the Marquis of Salisbury*, vol. i., p. 83). It is interesting to note that this same Seth had brought to Bishop Bonner a book and letter from "Dr Baines, reader of Hebrew in Paris," afterwards

that greater practices are thought to be in him that ways, he was committed to the Tower."

No doubt one of the "things of that sort," to which the Council took objection, was Dr White's maintenance of the Catholic faith amongst the Winchester boys. Further on in his Report to Cardinal Morone, Sander says that the fact of White's having been thus "cast into prison for the faith" was the reason "of his receiving from Mary a two-fold honour," being named on her accession first to the See of Lincoln, and then, on Bishop Gardiner's death, to that of Winchester.[1]

Bishop White's outspoken denunciation, at Queen Mary's funeral, of the impending change brought down on him, as we shall see, the anger of the new Queen and her Council; and was not unnaturally displeasing to the "reforming" party, by whom reports were circulated, exaggerating shamefully the things that he had said. Thus Jewel, then still abroad, wrote some weeks afterwards to Peter Martyr: "Your friend White . . . delivered a most furious and turbulent discourse at the funeral of Mary, in which he declared that everything was to be attempted rather than that any alteration should be made in religion, and that it would be *a meritorious act for any one to kill the exiles on their return!*" [2]

Fortunately a manuscript in the Cottonian Library has preserved to us the actual sermon, which is printed in full by Strype,[3] so that we can judge for ourselves of the injustice of Jewel's accusation. A few extracts from it cannot but be welcome to the reader, as showing how undisguisedly and fearlessly the good Bishop laid the truth before his hearers.

Bishop of Lichfield, as well as a letter from Dr Bayne to Dr Bourne, another of our eleven Bishops. Already then these were of one mind.

[1] Sander seems to imply that White was left in prison till the accession of Queen Mary. If this be so, a wrong date must be given in Browne Willis's *Survey of Cathedrals* (vol. i., p. 440), for his admission to the Prebend of Eccleshall in Lichfield Cathedral, there stated as May 24, 1552.

[2] *Zurich Letters*, 1st series, Ep. 3, from Strasburg, January 26, 1559.

[3] *Memorials of the Reformation*, vol. vii., pp. 397-413, ed. 1816.

"I am born into this world to this end, to serve God, and to be saved. . . . I come into this world to witness with the truth, as Christ, my Master, came before me, saying: '*Veni in mundum, ut testimonium perhibeam veritati.*' But—I impugn the truth and advance falsehood. I was regenerate, and by a solemn vow became a member of Christ's Catholic Church, and have since divided myself from the unity thereof, and *I am become a member of the new Church of Geneva;* or did after lapse to actual and deadly sin; reformed by penance, I am now relapsed again to sin, and dwell stubbornly therein. Mark my end, right honourable, and what shall become of me! I shall in the end be damned everlastingly."

Of Bishops, and their obligation to warn their people of false teachers, he says: "Who being by God placed, and as the prophet Ezechiel saith, appointed to keep watch and ward upon the walls, and give warning when the enemy cometh, if they see the wolf toward the flock, *as at this present, I warn you, the wolves be coming out of Geneva, and other places of Germany,* and hath sent their books before, full of pestilent doctrines, blasphemy and heresy, to infect the people; if the Bishops, I say, and ministers in this case should not give warning, neither withstand and resist, but for fear or flattery with the world forsake their places, and thereby give occasion to the wolf to enter and devour the flock; then should the more mighty be more mightily scourged, and the blood of the people required at their hands . . . *Melius est canis vivus, quam leo mortuus.* That is to say, Better is one lively preacher in the church that dareth to bark against sin, blasphemy, heresy;[1] better is one lively officer or magistrate in the commonweal that dareth to speak against injuries, extortions, seditions, rebellions, and other discords, than the dead lion; that is to say, men, perhaps of great dignity and vocation, who dare not open their mouths and bark."

[1] No one can read this actual passage of the sermon, without seeing how absurdly those writers have blundered, who have accused the Bishop of comparing *Queen Elizabeth* to the "live dog"! On this see the remarks of Father Bridgett, *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 70.

Probably what chiefly offended the ministers of Elizabeth were the following praises of Queen Mary for having declined the headship of the Church, which her sister was preparing to usurp. "She found the realm poisoned with heresy, and purged it; and remembering herself to be a member of Christ's Church, *refused to write herself head thereof.* Which title never no prince, a thousand and five hundred years after Christ, usurped; and was herself by learning, able to render a cause why. She could say that, after Zacharias was dead, Ozias the prince took on him the priest's office, which prospered not with him because it was not his vocation, but God struck him therefore with leprosy in his forehead. . . . She could say how can I, a woman, be head of the Church, who by Scripture am forbidden to speak in the Church?"

The following reference to the new Queen (at which no one could justly take offence), is the only one in the whole sermon. "Let us comfort ourselves in the other sister whom God hath left, wishing her a prosperous reign in peace and tranquillity, with the blessing which the prophet speaks of, if it be God's will, *ut videat filios filiorum et pacem super Israel.*"

In punishment for his brave speaking in this sermon, the Bishop of Winchester was for a whole month confined by order of the Council to his house. Writing a fortnight after its delivery, the Spanish Ambassador informs the king: "The Bishop of Winchester preached a very Catholic sermon in memory of the late Queen, and the Council sent for him and ordered him not to leave his house."[1]

His discharge from this restraint is recorded in the Acts of the Privy Council for January 19, 1559, in which we read: "This day the Bishop of Winchester, having been heretofore commanded to keep his house for such offences as he committed in his sermon at the funerals of the late Queen, was called before the Lords of the Council, and after a good admonition given him, was set at liberty

[1] *Spanish Calendar*, December 29, 1558.

and discharged of the said commandment of keeping his house."

We shall see that this unworthy treatment was not able to intimidate the brave and holy Prelate. It was, however, an indication, and no doubt was so intended, of the downright persecution which was soon to follow.

It was probably in consequence of the effect produced by this and other sermons of the Catholic priests and Bishops, that, six weeks after Elizabeth's accession, a Proclamation was put forth in the Queen's name, on December 28, commanding "all manner of her subjects, as well those that be called to ministry in the Church, as all others, *that they do forbear to preach, or teach*, or to give audience to any manner of doctrine or preaching, . . . or to use any other manner of public prayer . . . but that which is already used, and by law received, . . . until consultation may be had by Parliament, by her Majesty, and her three estates of this realm."[1]

Whilst the Catholics, however, were thus restrained from further preaching, abundant opportunities of doing so were allowed to their opponents, as is shown by the following, from Hilles to Bullinger, on the following February the 28th. "With respect to religion, silence has been imposed upon the Catholic preachers (as they are called) by a royal proclamation, and sufficient liberty is allowed to the gospellers to preach three times a week during this Lent before the Queen herself, and to prove their doctrines from the holy Scriptures."[2]

We see that by this Proclamation "any manner of public prayer" was forbidden, "but that which is by law received." However, in the secret "Device for the alteration of religion," which has been already quoted, the gradual discontinuance of the Mass was recommended; and in the Queen's own chapel certain novelties were at

[1] Strype gives the Proclamation, in his *Annals*, vol. i., Appendix III. He names, as its immediate occasion, the brawls which certain evangelicals had excited in the churches on Christmas and the following day.

[2] *Zurich Letters*, 2nd series, Ep. 7.

once introduced, without waiting for the promised Parliament.

We find these innovations at the royal chapel mentioned in the first of an interesting series of letters written at this time (but only lately published),[1] by a devout Catholic from Mantua, named Il Schifanoya, residing then in London with Mgr. Priuli, Cardinal Pole's executor and trusted friend. Without holding an official position as such, Il Schifanoya acted as the representative of his own State in England; and his letters were addressed, either to the Castellan of Mantua, or to the representative of that State at the Court of Brussels.

In his first letter, dated December 17, 1558, he writes: "The affairs of religion continue as usual, but I hear that at the Court, when the Queen is present, a priest officiates who says certain prayers with the Litanies in English, after the fashion of King Edward. I pray God to grant that worse may not happen. They then say Vespers and Compline in the old style."

In his next letter, written a fortnight later, Il Schifanoya describes the scandalous attempt made by the Queen to interfere with the High Mass sung in her chapel upon Christmas day. This attempt of hers brought out in a striking manner the courageous constancy of another of our Bishops, Owen Oglethorpe, the Bishop of Carlisle.

"Until now," wrote Il Schifanoya on December 31, "I have believed that the matters of religion would continue in the accustomed manner, her Majesty having promised this with her own mouth many times; but now I have lost faith, and I see that by little and little they are returning to the bad use. On Christmas day the Bishop of Carlisle sang High Mass, and her Majesty sent to tell him that he was not to elevate the Host. To this the good Bishop replied that thus had he learnt the Mass, and that she must pardon him, as he could not do otherwise. So, the Gospel being ended, her Majesty rose and departed, and on other days it has been so done by her chaplains."[2]

[1] *Venetian Calendar*, vol. vii., published in 1890.
[2] *Ibid.*, December 31, 1558.

We have an account of this same occurrence from an actual eye witness of it, in the person of Edmund Daniel, Dean of Hereford, who, in the Process held at Rome in 1570, previous to Elizabeth's condemnation, gave evidence on oath to the following effect: "I was present when the Queen Elizabeth, in her chapel, when the Bishop of Carlisle was celebrating Mass, while the choir was singing the Gloria, sent her secretary to him, bidding him not to elevate. But the Bishop, as I have heard, replied that he should elevate the Host according to the custom of the Catholic Church. The Queen, therefore, left before the Gospel, and her secretary told me she left not to witness the elevation. And the Dean [of the chapel] commanded me to celebrate on St Stephen's day, without elevating. This I refused to do. Therefore, she sent her own chaplain, named Minter, who celebrated without elevation, and I saw the Queen assisting at his Mass."[1]

De Feria, in his account of the affair, represents the Bishop of Carlisle as having answered "that her Majesty was mistress of his body and life, but not of his conscience. They tell me," he adds, "that yesterday" (he was writing on December 29) "she heard Mass said by another Bishop, who was requested not to elevate the Host, and acted accordingly."[2] As to the celebrant on this last occasion having been "another *Bishop*," De Feria had evidently been misinformed; since all writers agree in representing all the Bishops — including even Bishop Kitchin—as acting at this time in complete agreement.

We must not fail to notice that, in thus courageously refusing to omit, at the Queen's bidding, the elevation and due adoration of the Body of Our Lord, Bishop Oglethorpe was allowed by God to make a most fitting reparation for what had been his own past weakness in consenting, under pressure, to sign a formula in which the doctrine of Transubstantiation was denied.

As President of Magdalene College, Oxford, in the

[1] *Laderchii Annales*, ed. 1883, tom. 37, p. 159. Translated from Laderchi, by Fr. Bridgett, p. 65.

[2] *Spanish Calendar*, December 29, 1558.

reign of Edward VI., his reluctance to accept the new book of service then introduced by Parliament had brought him, like so many others, into trouble; to free himself from which he was unhappily induced to sign in 1551 a profession of faith, which is still preserved at Oxford, expressing an approval of the book in general, and condemning Transubstantiation. It is, however, consoling to know that this very document, which thus bears witness to his former weakness, has itself been made a record of his subsequent conversion. For it bears written on it in another hand: "*in Quene Mary's tyme torned quyte.*"[1]

Oglethorpe's repentance for this act of weakness seems, indeed, to have been rapid; since, in the year after it, he resigned the presidency of his College, which his acceptance of the service book had enabled him to retain. He was re-elected to it shortly after the accession of Queen Mary; under whom, in 1554, he became Dean of Windsor, until his consecration as Bishop of Carlisle, on the feast of Our Lady's Assumption, in 1557.

When Elizabeth thus sacrilegiously attempted to tamper with the mode of offering the holy sacrifice of the Mass, she was yet uncrowned; and the incident had the effect of confirming the Bishops in their resolution to decline to perform the ceremony of her coronation. This we learn from Cardinal Allen, who, in alluding to it, passes a high encomium upon the Bishop of Carlisle, who, when "commanded not to elevate the holy consecrated Host, to his great honour constantly refused to obey—a thing that in one of us poor men now [viz., in 1584], perchance, would be accounted high treason and disloyalty towards our sovereign. And of this his courage in God's cause it never repented him."[2]

The following is what Allen says, in the same place, as to the refusal made, in the first instance, by *all* the Bishops to perform the coronation ceremony:—

"Whose courage and resistance for quarrel of God's

[1] Pocock has printed Oglethorpe's profession of faith from the original document in his *Burnet*, vol. v., p. 312.

[2] *True, Sincere, Modest Defence of English Catholics*, 1584, p. 51.

religion was such in them, and especially in the said Archbishop [of York], that he worthily, as became his excellency, refused to anoint or crown the Queen's Majesty that now is, though it appertained to his special office to do the same, the Metropolitan being dead, as hath been said before; and so did all the rest of the Bishops refuse the same, until with much ado they obtained the Bishop of Carlisle—the inferior almost of all the rest—to do that function. . . . The cause why they durst not then, nor could be adduced by any human fear or authority to invest her was, for that they had evident probabilities and arguments to doubt that she meant, either not to take the oath, or not to keep the same, which all Christian kings—and specially ours in England—do make in their coronation for maintenance of holy Church's laws, honours, peace, and privileges, and other duties due to every state, as in the time and grant of King Edward the Confessor. They doubted also lest she would refuse, in the very time of her Sacre, the solemn divine ceremony of unction—accustomed in the consecration of all Christian princes—through the evil advices of certain young counsellors, being then in the heat, prime, and pride of their heresy, whereby great scandal might arise and hurt to the realm."[1]

As to the action of Bishop Oglethorpe in consenting at last to perform the ceremony, when the Archbishop and the others had refused, Sander speaks as follows in his Report to Cardinal Morone: "The Bishop of Carlisle at length undertook the ceremony, after many of the others had been asked in vain, not as a favourer of heresy, but lest, if no one should anoint her, the Queen should thereby be enraged, and made more inclined to overthrow religion. Things, moreover, were not yet so desperate, as to prevent many from hoping that she might be turned from her purpose."

That in acting thus Oglethorpe was not opposing the Archbishop, seems clear from the part eventually taken by Heath himself in the preliminary portion of the ceremony; and that it did not forfeit him the confidence of his brother

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

Bishops was shown afterwards by their choosing him for one of the Catholic defendants at the Westminster Conference. In the end the Archbishop apparently came to the conclusion that it would be unwise for him to absent himself from the coronation altogether, though he still declined to take in it the part which properly was his.

Nevertheless, that the Bishop of Carlisle repented bitterly of his compliance we know both from Sander and from Allen. "When he saw the issue of the matter," writes the latter, "and both himself and all the rest of his sacred order deprived, and the Church's holy laws and faith, against the conditions of her consecration and acceptation into that royal room, violated, he sore repented him all the days of his life; which were for that special cause both short and wearisome afterward unto him."[1]

As to the share taken in the Queen's coronation by the other Bishops, Sander, without giving particulars, says in his Report that they "continued present, until they saw a departure made from the ancient rite of the sacrifice of the Mass: for the Queen had introduced a new kind of Mass, in which the consecrated Host was not held up for the adoration of the people."

We can learn, however, what was done from two contemporary accounts of the ceremony, one of which is by Il Schifanoya[2]; and the other by an eye-witness, whose description of the function is published by Nichols from a manuscript in the Ashmolean Museum.[3]

"On Sunday, 15th of January," wrote Il Schifanoya, "Mass was sung for the coronation in Westminster Abbey, which was decorated with the handsomest and most precious tapestries that were ever seen. . . . The Queen was received under the canopy by the Archbishop and another Bishop, they having previously incensed her, giving her the holy water and the pax. . . . On her Majesty's arrival at the Church, all the bells in London ringing, she ascended the lofty tribune erected between the high altar and the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 52. [2] *Venetian Calendar*, Jan. 23, 1559.
[3] Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i., p. 61.

choir, being thus exhibited to the people, of whom it was asked if they wished her to be their crowned Queen? Whereupon they all shouted 'Yes'; and the organs, fifes, trumpets, and drums playing, the bells also ringing, it seemed as if the world were come to an end. Descending from the tribunal, the Queen placed herself under the royal canopy; and then the choristers commenced the Mass, which was sung by the Dean of her Chapel, her chaplain; the Bishops not having chosen to say Mass without elevating the Host, or consecrating it [! *sic*], as that worthy individual did, the Epistle and Gospel being recited in English. After the Epistle, the Bishop of Carlisle commenced the coronation according to the Roman ceremonial, neither altering nor omitting anything but the outward forms, which were not observed as in Italy, the English having no Masters of the Ceremonies, except the Kings-at-Arms, and still less caring about formalities. The Mass and all the ceremonies being concluded, and the Queen having twice changed her apparel, they returned into Westminster Hall in the same order as at first, except that the Bishops remained in the Abbey." . . .

The Dean of the Queen's Chapel, who sang the Mass in the sacrilegious way above described, was Dr George Carew, whom Elizabeth had made Dean of the Royal Chapel shortly before her coronation.[1]

The Ashmolean manuscript supplies the following additional particulars. From it we see that the Epistle and the Gospel were first read as usual in Latin.

"Her Majesty sat in a chair before the altar, there being a Bishop in the pulpit preaching a sermon before the Queen's Majesty and all the Lords spiritual and temporal.[2] . . . And after that her Grace sat in her chair, and the Bishop gave her a book, which she had taking her oath. . . . Item the Queen's Majesty being newly apparelled came before the altar . . . and over her

[1] See *Dict. Nat. Biog.* Carew's appointment is mentioned by De Feria and Il Schifanoya in letters of Nov. 25 and Dec. 31, 1558.

[2] No mention of this sermon, or of the preacher, seems to be found elsewhere.

was spread a red silken cloth, and then and there the Bishop anointed her Grace . . . and then one crown put the Bishop upon her head . . . and then the Lords went up to her Grace, kneeling upon their knees and kissed her Grace ; and after the Lords had done, the Bishops came one after another kneeling and kissing her Grace. And after that the Bishop[1] [*sic*] began the Mass . . . the Epistle read, first in Latin, and after that in English. And after that the Bishop brought her Grace the Gospel, which also was read first in Latin, and after in English, and she kissed the words of the Gospel . . . and then her Grace returned into her closet hearing the consecration of the Mass," etc.

It will be observed that in neither of these accounts is there mention of any function, performed by a Bishop, after the reading of the Gospel, which one of them brought to the Queen to kiss. The ceremonies connected with the actual coronation were all by that time finished ; and, from what Sander says, the Bishops (including probably the Bishop of Carlisle himself) appear to have retired as soon as they saw the way in which the royal chaplain was mutilating the most sacred ceremonies of the Holy Mass. Il Schifanoya says expressly that the Bishops did not leave the Abbey with the Queen ; and though he has much to tell about the magnificent banquet in Westminster Hall, which immediately followed, and about the guests of various ranks invited to it, he makes no mention of a single Bishop as having been present at it.

They had been in a manner necessary to Elizabeth, in order to secure her seat upon the throne by conferring on her that holy unction, which all the kings before her had received. That done, they might be safely cast aside! Only ten days later she opened her first Parliament, by which, at her bidding, the laws were enacted which obliged these very Prelates, who had set the crown upon her head, to choose between apostasy and imprisonment till death.

[1] The writer seems to have mistaken Carew for a Bishop.

CHAPTER V

THE BISHOPS IN THE PARLIAMENT AND CONVOCATION OF 1559. ACTS OF SUPREMACY AND UNIFORMITY

On January 25, 1559, was opened by Queen Elizabeth in person the fatal Parliament, which undid the work of her good sister Mary, and once more severed England, as a country, from the Catholic Church. From the Act of this same Parliament dates also the beginning of the still existent so-called "Church of England as by Law established."

The effecting, however, of this sad and momentous revolution by Elizabeth was attended by at least one circumstance, which marked a striking and consoling difference between its mode of introduction and that of the schism established by her father—namely, the firm and consistent opposition which was offered to it by the Bishops. It would indeed be hard to find a more striking illustration of the *discontinuity* between the new church set up by Elizabeth and the ancient one, which she endeavoured to destroy, than the fact that, for the erection of the new one, it was found necessary to extinguish the whole of the existing Hierarchy, and to create a new body in its place, composed of men whose teaching even upon the most sacred subjects was opposed diametrically to that of their predecessors.

The unanimity with which, in the House of Lords, the Bishops opposed the passing of the Acts that changed the religion of the country, is an undisputed fact of history, which there is no need for us to prove. It will help us, however, to form a juster appreciation of their conduct,

if, from the letters of ambassadors and other sources, we try here to put together briefly the story of their fruitless struggle for the maintenance of the ancient faith. That men like Il Schifanoya and De Feria were fully alive to the momentous nature of the contest, is made evident by their letters from the first.

"On Monday next," wrote Il Schifanoya to the Castellan of Mantua, "Parliament will, please God, commence, all the peers accompanying the Queen in her royal crimson robe, . . . and the Bishops in their rochets, over which they wear a scarlet cape with a Cardinal's hood, but not so long, and they carry their own trains. I pray God of His goodness and mercy to enlighten them to do what may be according to His will. . . . Within a week some idea may be formed as to what will be done in the matter of religion. I hear that the Prelates, Bishops, and other old Lords will fight for and maintain the true and holy religion." [1]

The Bishops then surviving, who held seats in the House of Lords,[2] were, as we have seen, only sixteen in number; of whom no less than four,—viz., the Bishops of Durham, Peterborough, St David's, and St Asaph—were hindered by different causes from attending personally; though all of these, except the Bishop of St Asaph, had named the Archbishop of York to act as their proxy, with power to vote in their names.[3]

The Bishop of St Asaph had been debarred from voting, even by a proxy, through not receiving from the Queen any writ of summons to the Parliament. Shortly before the late Queen's death, Bishop Goldwell had been nominated by the Crown to the See of Oxford; though without having as yet either resigned St Asaph, or received from Rome confirmation to the other See. This circumstance seems to have provided Cecil with a pretext for the withholding of his writ. In the following June

[1] *Venetian Calendar*, January 1559, p. 19. *Letters to the Castellan and to the Ambassador at Brussels.*

[2] The Bishop of Sodor and Man had no seat in Parliament.

[3] The Procuratorial Letters of these three Bishops are mentioned in the Lords' Journals for January 23, 1558 (9).

he found means of escaping to the continent, whence he never returned to England.[1]

Of the three other Bishops who were unable to attend, the Bishop of Durham was detained in the north, during the whole time that Parliament was sitting, by matters connected with the Scottish border, on which Queen Mary had employed him first, and on which Elizabeth was wise enough to continue to make use of his services.

Amongst State Papers there is preserved a "minute" (with corrections made in it in Cecil's handwriting) addressed "To the Bishop of Durham for his absence from the Parliament and Coronation," dated December 19, 1558. In it occurs the following: "For the doing of such services at our coronation as you are bound to do there, as Bishop of Durham, we are pleased you do name three meet persons to supply the same service for you, every one of them to be authorised by you alike, to the end that we may take the choice of one of them as we shall think meetest. Requiring you also to send your proxy for your voice to be given in our Parliament to such things as shall there (be) treated and concluded upon, in such sort as in that case hath been accustomed."[2]

We shall see later what a determined upholder of the ancient faith the venerable Bishop Tunstall had become in his old age, and no doubt Cecil was rejoiced at any pretext for excluding one so influential from the Parliament about to assemble.

The two Bishops of Peterborough and St David's seem both to have been kept away by illness.

The former of these wrote to Cecil from Peterborough, on December 28, 1558, begging to be excused from attending Parliament "on account of consumption and quartan ague, which, together with the inclemency of the season and his great age, make it dangerous for him to travel."[3]

[1] A most interesting account of Bishop Goldwell, by the late Father T. F. Knox, D.D., is to be found at the end of Father Bridgett's *Queen Elizabeth and the Catholic Hierarchy*.

[2] *Dom. Eliz.*, vol. i., No. 37.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. i., No. 48.

In the same letter the good Bishop enclosed to the Queen "a poor gift of twenty marks," and thanked Cecil himself for the "gift of a buck and a doe." Whatever friendliness there may have been between them previously, it did not hinder Cecil later from sending the sick and aged Prelate to end his days in prison!

As to the Bishop of St David's, he appears to have been already stricken with the illness, which saved him from the imprisonment inflicted on his brethren, but of which he died on the following December 23.

Besides the four already mentioned, two other Bishops also were prevented by their public duties from being present at the earlier sittings of the Parliament. These were the Bishop of Ely, who before Queen Mary's death had been sent upon an embassy to France, from which he was unable to return until the following April; and the Bishop of Bath and Wells, who held the office of Lord President of the Council of Wales. The Bishop of Bath was relieved, however, from this latter office in the February of 1559, when, in pursuance of her plan to remove Catholics from posts of trust, Elizabeth addressed a letter to him in which she expressed her satisfaction at his service, but intimated that she had appointed Lord Williams of Thame in his place.[1] He is only named once in the Lords' Journals — on January 31st — as actually present in the House, and soon after that date he seems to have returned in ill health to his Diocese, where we shall find him at the time of his deprivation in the following autumn.

Thus the Bishops left to fight the Church's battle, in the earlier portion of the session, were indeed reduced, as Sander says, to a *pusillus grex;* particularly as even two or three of those remaining were unable to make their appearance quite at once. They had, however, in the House of Lords the vigorous support throughout of Abbot Feckenham of Westminster, who acted with them from the first.

The following is the account given by Il Schifanoya of

[1] *Domestic Calendar*, 1547-1580, p. 123.

the opening of the Parliament, and of the sermon preached on the occasion by the fanatical Cox, one of the "wolves from Germany," against whom the Bishop of Winchester had warned his hearers at Queen Mary's funeral.[1] The mere fact of such a man being chosen to preach the opening sermon itself indicated what was to be expected from the Parliament.

"On [the Queen's] arriving at Westminster Abbey, the Abbot, robed pontifically, with all his monks in procession, each of them having a lighted torch in his hand, received her as usual, giving her first of all incense and holy water; and when her Majesty saw the monks who accompanied her with the torches, she said, 'Away with those torches, for we see very well'; and her choristers singing the Litany in English, she was accompanied to the high altar under her canopy. Thereupon Dr Cox, a married priest, who has hitherto been beyond the sea, ascended the pulpit and preached the sermon, in which, after saying many things freely against the monks, proving by his arguments that they ought to be persecuted and punished by her Majesty as they were impious for having caused the burning of so many poor innocents under pretext of heresy, on which he expatiated greatly. He then commenced praising her Majesty, saying amongst other things that God had given her this dignity to the end that she might no longer allow or tolerate the past iniquities; exhorting her to destroy the images of the Saints, the churches, the monasteries, and all other things dedicated to divine worship. . . . This sermon lasted an hour and a half, the peers standing the whole time, after which they went to the place prepared for the Parliament."[2]

The Bills affecting religion, which were laid before this Parliament, are thus summarised by Fr. Bridgett: "A Bill for the restitution and annexation of first fruits to the Crown, one for the supremacy of the Crown, and abolition

[1] We have already seen how this same man (made Bishop of Ely later by Elizabeth) falsified the passage in Bullinger's book with reference to the imprisoned Bishops.

[2] *Venetian Calendar*, January 30, 1559.

of all foreign jurisdiction, one for conformity of common prayer and administration of the sacraments, certain Bills detrimental to the temporal interests of the Church, and one for restoring the Queen in blood. To this last no opposition was offered by any Bishop. To all the others they offered a united and vigorous resistance, but without effect. The Bishop of Llandaff, who afterwards yielded weakly, opposed the imposition of the oath [of supremacy], in all the stages of the Bill, and in the final division on April 29."[1]

Without attempting to trace the history of the contest at all fully, it will be enough here to give one or two extracts, which will show the admiration with which the firmness of the Bishops was viewed by the Catholic ambassadors.

"Yesterday," wrote De Feria on February the 29th, "the House of Commons decided that the supreme ecclesiastical power was attached to the Crown of England. Some of the members spoke in favour of reason so strongly that it was necessary for Cecil to get up a wrangle in order to carry out the wicked plan, and the Bill then passed. To-morrow it goes to the upper house, *where the Bishops and some others are ready to die rather than consent to it*, as they (the heretics) wish to make all the country swear to respect this enactment, and those who do not are to be held as traitors as they were in King Henry's time."[2] And again a few weeks later:—"*All the Bishops here are determined to die for the faith*, and your Majesty would be surprised to see how firm and steadfast they have been and are." In an earlier part of this same letter De Feria had told the King how Elizabeth, in an interview he had lately had with her, had spoken of the Bishops as "lazy poltroons." "I replied," he says, "that the poltroons were the preachers that she listened to, and that it added little to her honour that so many rogues should come from Germany, and get into the pulpit before her and great congregations to preach a thousand absurdities."[3]

[1] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 20.
[2] *Spanish Calendar*, February 29, 1559.
[3] *Ibid.*, March 19, 1559.

Again, a little later, De Feria wrote on April the 18th: "The Queen having sent to the Parliament to say that she did not wish to take the title of 'Head of the Church,' and asking them to think of some other style, they have agreed that she shall be called *Governess of the Church*, as it appears to them that it is different if put in this way. . . . The Act has already passed the lower house, and has been proposed in the upper. The Archbishop of York has opposed it, and it has to be read some more times before it can pass. This York is a worthy man, and *England can never have had such Bishops as these before.*"[1]

Similarly, the Venetian ambassador to Philip II. in Flanders forwarded to Venice a letter from London, dated February 6, in which the following occurs: "The Acts and decrees of Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole have vanished into smoke, but it is really very surprising to witness the very great fortitude of many persons, both Bishops, lay-lords and plebeians, who have not bowed the knee before Baal, and who are prepared to suffer any extreme punishment, rather than return to their former state under King Henry."[2]

Even the adversaries of the Bishops were compelled to bear witness to the unanimity and firmness of their opposition to the laws which brought in the new religion, though they vainly tried to rob it of its force by attributing it to mere obstinacy.

Thus, when the contest was still at its height, Jewel wrote to Peter Martyr on April 28: "The cause of the Pope is now agitated, and with much vehemence on both sides. For the Bishops are labouring that they may not seem to have been in error; and this delays and hinders the progress of religion. . . . No one more keenly opposes our cause than the Bishop of Ely [then just returned from France], who still retains his seat in Parliament, and his disposition along with it."[3]

In the same way, after Parliament had done its evil

[1] *Ibid.*, April 18, 1559.
[2] *Venetian Calendar*, 1558-1580, p. 28.
[3] *Zurich Letters*, 1st series, Ep. 7.

work, Parkhurst, in announcing to Gesner that "the Pope was again cast out of England," remarked: "The pseudo-bishops [*sic*] opposed with all their might the pious designs of the Queen, and caused many things not to terminate in the way that good men wished."[1]

The Bishop of Ely—unintentionally praised above by Jewel—had been enabled to return to England by the successful termination of the negotiations on which he had been engaged in France. Previous to his return, the Catholics had been somewhat doubtful as to his firmness, in consequence of his conformity to the wishes of the Government in the times of Henry and of Edward, and their adversaries had hoped to find in him an ally.

Nevertheless, he had been one of the very first to apply to Cardinal Pole for absolution,[2] and had been selected by Queen Mary, as one of the ambassadors whom she despatched to Rome to convey to the Holy Father the submission of the kingdom to the Apostolic See. He now gave glorious proof of the sincerity of his conversion by at once ranging himself in Parliament beside his brother Bishops, although they were but too evidently upon the losing side, the whole power of the Government being arrayed against them.

Bishop Thirlby's appearance in Parliament as a defender of the Catholic cause is thus noted by De Feria on April the 29th, when the session was fast drawing to its close. "The Bishop of Ely has spoken to-day in Parliament very well and like a good Catholic, saying that he will die rather than consent to a change of religion."[3] And again the same Ambassador wrote a few days later:

[1] "*Et ne multa finem a bonis optatum sortirentur effecere*"—*Ibid.*, Ep. 13. These last words are wrongly rendered in the Parker Society's translation: "and, to be brief, brought upon themselves a consummation much to be desired by all good men"!

[2] The dispensation to Bishop Thirlby, says Canon Estcourt, "was granted before Pole's arrival in England, on his sending over a Proctor to express his penitence and promise obedience to the Holy See" (*Anglican Ordinations*, p. 44). The formal document absolving him was dated Brussels, Aug. 19, 1554 (*Ibid.*, App. XV.).

[3] *Spanish Calendar*, April 29, 1559.

"The Bishops and others who are considered Catholics are as firm as on the first day, and the Bishop of Ely has honoured himself in the sight of God and the world, for the Catholics did not hold him in high esteem, and the heretics tried to gain him over by presents, but he determined to remain a good Catholic and an honest man."[1]

Sander in his Report speaks as follows of Bishop Thirlby's admirable conduct, in thus quitting a place of safety to come back to England at so dangerous a moment[2]:—

"Whilst on his embassy in France, having heard how hostile the Queen was to religion, and when all were expecting him not to come back, he returned home of his own accord to make confession of the Catholic faith. And when after his return the Lutherans were expecting from him just the contrary, he not only defended the faith with the greatest openness in Parliament, but also himself made atonement for having seemed at one time to have departed from the Catholic Ritual. 'Henceforth,' he said, 'I have determined to avoid every such disorder, and to preserve intact the faith of the Church our Mother, and of my ancestors.'"

The following is the general account, which Sander gives in the same Report, of the action of the Bishops in this Parliament:—"Whenever any question was raised referring to religion, the Archbishop of York always protested that that was not its proper place; that such questions ought to be discussed in a Synod, not in Parliament, and by Bishops, not by laymen. Then the Bishops each in order said that they were of the same mind, nor did any one of them on any question ever differ from another. After those of the Archbishop himself, the weightiest speeches made on the whole subject were those of the Bishops of Winchester, Lincoln,

[1] *Ibid.*, May 10.

[2] The Lords' Journals mark Bishop Thirlby's first appearance in the House of Lords on April the 17th. By that time two Bishops—those of Winchester and Lincoln—had, as we shall see, been already committed to the Tower.

Lichfield, and Chester, who allowed no point to pass without pursuing it so thoroughly as to make it impossible to answer their speeches. The thing was indeed unheard of, inasmuch as the laymen had nothing which they could say on any point; and yet, whilst they acknowledged their admiration for the talent and learning of the Bishops, they always gave, as their one reason for differing from them, that they understood the Queen to wish it."

One of the speeches, which Sander had in mind in writing the above, must certainly have been that which the Archbishop of York delivered against the Bill for conferring supremacy over the Church upon the Crown.[1] It was a speech, which would at any time have been remarkable on account of the solidity and completeness of its reasoning; but,—coming from a Prelate, who in his younger days had yielded on this very point to Henry, and who now spoke, not for himself alone, but as the proxy also of the absent Tunstall who formerly had displayed the same weakness,—it has an especial value as showing how thoroughly the truth had now, at all events, been brought home to them as to the Supremacy, which Our Lord had given, not to kings, but to St Peter and his successors.

The following from the opening paragraphs of the speech contains an outline of the Archbishop's argument.

"First, when by virtue of this Act of Supremacy, we must forsake and flee from the See of Rome, it should be considered by your wisdoms what matter lieth therein in danger or inconvenience. Secondly, it should be considered what this Supremacy is, and whether it do consist in spiritual government or temporal. If in temporal, what further authority can this House give unto her Highness than she hath already? If in spiritual, it should be considered whether this House can grant it; and whether her Highness be an apt person to receive the same.

[1] Strype has printed it (*Annals*, vol. i., App. VI., ed. 1709) from Fox's MS. and Parker's Synodalia C.C.C.C. Father Bridgett suggests that the speech had probably been written out by Heath.

"To the first point. . . . If by this our relinquishing of the See of Rome there were none other matter therein than a withdrawing of our obedience from the Pope's person, Paul IVth of that name, which hath declared himself to be a very austere stern Father unto us, ever since his first entrance into Peter's chair, then the cause were not of such great importance as it is in very deed; when by relinquishing and forsaking of the See of Rome we must forsake and flee from these four things. First, we must forsake and flee from all general Councils. Secondly, we must flee from all canonical and ecclesiastical laws of the Church of Christ. Third, from the judgment of all other Christian princes. Fourth and last, we must forsake and flee from the Unity of Christ's Church, and by leaping out of Peter's ship, hazard ourselves to be overwhelmed and drowned in the waters of schism, sects, and divisions."

After proving that these four things would be involved by separating themselves from the Church of Rome, the Archbishop went on to deal with the second point: viz., the nature of the spiritual government to be conferred by the Act upon the Queen; and after speaking of the power of loosing and of binding, which Our Lord gave to St Peter, he continues: "It should be considered of your wisdoms whether you have sufficient authority to grant unto her Highness this first point of spiritual government, and to say to her, '*Tibi dabimus claves regni cœlorum.*' If you say, Yea! then we require the sight of your warrant and commission by the virtue of God's word. And if you say, No! then you may be well assured . . . that you have no sufficient authority to make her Highness Supreme Head of the Church here in this realm. The second point of spiritual government is gathered of those words of Our Saviour Jesus Christ, spoken unto Peter in the 21st chapter of St John's Gospel, '*Pasce, Pasce, Pasce.*' Now, whether your Honours have authority by this High Court of Parliament to say unto our Sovereign Lady, '*Pasce, Pasce, Pasce,*' you must show your warrant and commission. And further, that her Highness, being a woman by birth and nature, is not qualified by God's word

to feed the flock of Christ, it appeareth most plainly by St Paul on this wise, saying, '*Taceant mulieres in ecclesiis: non enim permittitur eis loqui, sed subditas esse, sicut dicit lex.*'"

Strype has preserved also a speech against the same Bill made by Bishop Scott of Chester. The following passage, which is given here as quoted by Father Bridgett,[1] is of interest as answering beforehand the sneering references of Burnet and others, to the previous yielding of some of the Bishops under Henry.

"'There is alleged,' said Bishop Scott, 'a provincial council or assembly of the Bishops and clergy of this realm of England [the Convocation of 1534], by which the authority of the Bishop of Rome was abolished and disallowed. But first, a particular or provincial council can make no determination against the universal Church of Christ. Secondly, of the learned men that were the doers there, so many as be dead, before they died, were penitent, and cried God mercy for their act; and those that do live, as all your lordships do know, hath openly revoked the same, acknowledging their error.' He then objects that such waverers cannot be trusted. He replies: 'He which once has run so hastily or rashly that he hath overthrown himself and fallen and broken his brow or his shin, will after that take heed to walk more warily, as we have seen by the Apostles of Our Saviour Christ, which did all forsake Him and run away when He was apprehended by the Jews, and especially by St Peter, which did thrice deny Him. And yet after, as well Peter as all the rest of the Apostles, did return again to their Master, Christ, and never would after, for neither persecution nor death, forsake or deny Him any more.'"

The following are the terms of the oath, which—in spite of the unanimous opposition of the spiritual Peers—this fatal act imposed upon "all beneficed ecclesiastics, and all laymen holding office under the Crown"; and the refusal of which involved the deprivation of all present offices with the disability to receive any others. It will be noticed that the oath, without actually styling the Queen

[1] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 21.

Head of the Church, nevertheless ascribed to her alone all spiritual government, denying the jurisdiction of any foreign Prelate. Thus, without apostacy, it could be taken by no Catholic.

"I, A. B., do utterly testify and declare that the Queen's Highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, and all other her Highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal; and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical, or spiritual, within this realm."[1]

The Act of Uniformity, which was passed by this same Parliament, prohibited "the use by a minister, whether beneficed or not, of any but the established liturgy," viz., the Book of Common Prayer: and in virtue of this wicked Act, on the Feast of St John the Baptist, June 24, 1559, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was, as far as Parliament could do it, throughout the land abolished: "under penalty of loss of goods for the first offence, of a year's imprisonment for the second, and of imprisonment for life for the third;" a fine, moreover, of one shilling being imposed "on all who should absent themselves from church on Sundays and holidays."[2]

These two Acts were carried in the House of Lords by a bare majority of three; and that too, it must be noted, in a House which had been *packed* especially for the purpose; "five new peers, of Protestant principles," having, Lingard says, "been added to the upper house": whilst, "in the lower, a majority had been secured by the expedient of sending to the sheriffs a list of court candidates, out of whom the members were to be chosen."[3]

The Parliament was dissolved on May the 8th, having done the work for which it had been called together.

Simultaneously with the Parliament, Convocation also had assembled to lend its support to the Bishops in their

[1] Hallam, *Constitutional History of England*, vol. i., p. 152.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 153.
[3] *History of England*, ed. 1883, vol. vi., p. 10.

momentous struggle, its first meeting being held on January the 24th, under the Presidency of the Bishop of London, with the Bishops of Worcester and of Lichfield for assessors.

Its action is thus briefly told by Sander, in his Report to Cardinal Morone. "When the Parliament was opened, the Bishops, Archdeacons, and Archpriests (Deans), assembling at the same time in Synod, were all unanimous in thinking it their duty to make clear to the laymen sitting in the Parliament their minds and opinions upon certain questions. They subscribed therefore to the following resolutions:—1st. That they believed in the real and natural (*i.e.*, physical) presence of the Body of Christ in the Eucharist; and this by the transubstantiation of the bread into His Body, and of the wine into His Blood; and that this is the Catholic faith, and in accordance with the Gospel truth. 2nd. That they believed the Mass to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead. 3rd. That they believed the Roman Pontiff to be the head of the Church, and Vicar of Christ. 4th. That laymen ought not to discuss sacred questions, and much less make laws regarding them."

These outspoken resolutions (which Sander quoted as above no doubt from memory, but the actual text of which is preserved in Wilkins' *Concilia*[1]) were signed by all the members of Convocation; and were sent by them, Sander continues, "to the Parliament, in order that they might be read by all. But the Keeper of the Great Seal, who presided over Parliament, understanding that this might be damaging to his own sect, kept the Resolutions back, and never allowed them to be published."

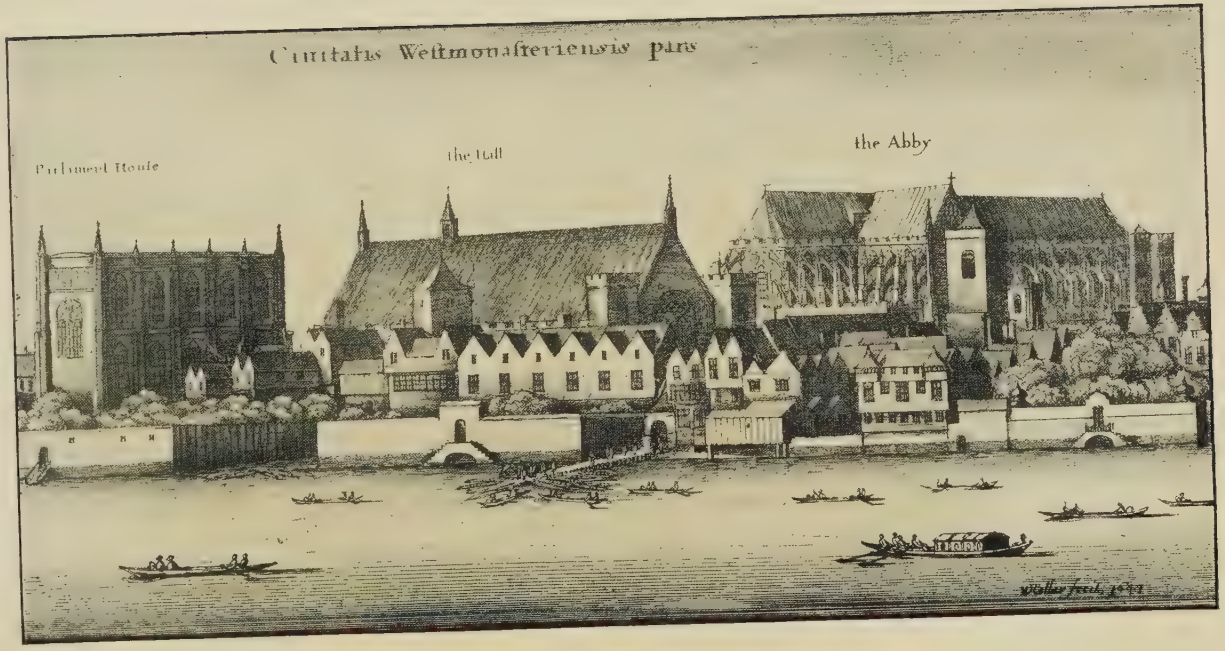
This, too, is confirmed by the account of the proceedings found in Wilkins, in which it is stated that on the following Friday, March the 3rd, "the Bishop of London . . . replied that he had presented the Resolutions to the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in the Upper House, who received the

[1] Tom. iv., p. 179. Sander gives correctly the substance of the resolutions, though in other words. In reality, they were five in number, Sander's first resolution being divided into two.

aforesaid Articles, as it seemed, without displeasure [*gratanter*], but gave no reply whatever."[1]

We shall see in the next chapter the dishonest expedient to which Elizabeth and her ministers had recourse by way of counteracting the effect of this unequivocal declaration of its faith which had been made by Convocation.

[1] *Concilia, ibid.*



WESTMINSTER AS IT WAS UNDER ELIZABETH.

[*To face p.* 79.

CHAPTER VI

THE CONFERENCE AT WESTMINSTER. THE PENALTIES INFLICTED ON THE CHAMPIONS OF THE CATHOLIC FAITH

THE bold stand made by Convocation and by the Bishops in the House of Lords, suggested to the Government the expedient of a conference between the Catholics and Protestants—to be arranged, however, on such terms as to ensure the discomfiture of the former.

Therefore, paying no attention to the declaration which the Clergy in Convocation had laid before the Parliament, and whilst the contest in the House of Lords between the Bishops and the Crown ministers was at its height, Cecil and his fellow councillors craftily suggested to the Queen the holding of a public discussion upon certain questions of doctrine between the Bishops and the reformed divines, to be used as a means of intimidating the Catholic Prelates, and of breaking down their opposition to the Government measures.

A Conference between the two parties was accordingly appointed for March the 31st, to be held in Westminster Abbey, under the presidency of Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper. "Of what happened," says Fr. Bridgett, writing in 1889, "*we have only a one-sided statement*, all to the disadvantage of the Bishops." Of the three Articles proposed, "the third never came into discussion, and there was no orderly disputation regarding the others. It had, of course, been *intended* that the Bishops should be worsted or declared so."[1]

[1] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 160.

The "one-sided statement" here alluded to by Fr. Bridgett, was the official account of the proceedings, which may still be read in the pages of Foxe and Holinshed, and which was published at the time—*cum privilegio Regiæ Majestatis*—by the royal printers Jugge & Cawood, under the following title, which itself betrays its animus: "*The Declaration of the proceeding of a Conference begun at Westminster the last of March* 1559, *concerning certain articles of religion, and the breaking up of the said Conference by default and contempt of certain Bishops, parties of the said Conference.*"[1]

When Fr. Bridgett wrote, the only available source of information on the subject was the above official report of the proceedings, with the equally unfair accounts of Cox and Jewel (both of them actors in the Disputation on the Protestant side), given in the *Zurich Letters*.[2]

Within late years, however, the publication of State Papers has also put within our reach the accounts of two Catholic hearers of the Disputation, the Count de Feria and Il Schifanoya; and from these, together with Sander's Report to Morone (for Sander himself seems to have been present), we can now form a juster estimate of what took place.

The following is what the official account tells us, as to the nomination of the disputants.

"By her Majesty's commandment, certain of the Privy Council declared this purpose [viz., of holding the conference] to the Archbishop of York (being also one of the same Privy Council),[3] and required him that he would impart the same to some of the Bishops, and to make choice of eight, nine, or ten, of them, and that there should be the like number named of the other part; and further also declared to him (as then was supposed) what the matters should be; . . . and then after certain days past,

[1] Reprinted in full in Pocock's *Burnet*, vol. v., pp. 524-529.

[2] 1st series, Epp. 4, 5, and 11.

[3] Though still in name a member of the Privy Council, its Acts show that he was never present at its meetings after January 5, 1559.

it was signified by the said Archbishop, that there was appointed (by such of the Bishops to whom he had imparted this matter) eight persons; that is to say, four Bishops and four Doctors, who were content, at the Queen's Majesty's commandment, to show their opinions, and, as he termed it, render account of their faith in those matters which were mentioned, and that specially in writing. Although, he said, they thought the same so determined, as there was no cause to dispute upon them."

The official account then goes on to say that "it was hereupon fully resolved by the Queen's Majesty, with the advice aforesaid, that, according to their desire *it should be in writing on both parts*, for avoiding of much altercation in words." We shall see from the accounts both of Sander and of De Feria, who himself was concerned in arranging the preliminaries, that the Catholic disputants had been given distinctly to understand that "the discussion was to be *verbal*."

The number of the disputants to be actually engaged on each side was fixed, we see above, at eight. The official account winds up, however, with the following lists, each containing nine; one combatant on each side being held apparently in reserve. On the Catholic side were the five Bishops of Winchester, Lichfield, Chester, Carlisle, and Lincoln, with Drs Cole, Harpsfield, Langdale, and Chedsey.

On the Protestant side, Dr Scory (Bishop of Chichester under Edward VI.), Dr Cox, Messrs Whitehead, Grindal, Horne, Sandys, Guest, Aylmer, and Jewel. Most of these had gone abroad during the reign of Mary, and nearly all of them were given places by Elizabeth in the new Hierarchy which she established shortly afterwards.

According to Sander, these "rapacious Genevan wolves," as he calls them in his Report, had hastened back upon Elizabeth's accession, bringing with them books already printed to support their heresies; and they it was, he says, that first suggested "to their partisans in the Council, the holding of public disputations, in which

Lutheran judges would easily be able to decide in favour of the heretics."

"The Bishops were warned," he writes, "to prepare themselves for a disputation in six days' time; to which they, good men, replied that by legitimate prescriptive right they were safe against all assailants. That the religion, which they stood by, according to the whole tradition of their fathers and their ancestors, had ever been received as Catholic without any contradiction: they were not going therefore to assume the part of claimants, as if uncertain of their right. On the contrary, since they were the ones in possession, it was the duty of others, if they claimed to themselves any right over Church institutions, to prove this to the proper judge; and, although this judge was not yet proclaimed, they nevertheless, without any fear for their cause, would leave themselves in the hands of the Council. On this the articles of the Lutherans were put before them. 1st. It is against the express word of God and the custom of the ancient Church for the ecclesiastical offices to be performed in a language unknown [to the people]. 2nd. In the Sacrament of the Eucharist the bread is not transubstantiated into the body, nor the wine into the blood of Christ. 3rd. The Mass is not a sacrifice propitiatory for the living and the dead."

In the official account—whilst the first and third articles are given as above by Sander—the second article proposed for debate is stated to have been the following: "Every church hath authority to appoint, take away, and change ceremonies and ecclesiastical rites, so the same be to edification." In this the official account seems probably correct, since Jewel, one of the Protestant disputators, in announcing the subjects of debate to Peter Martyr (although he wrote eleven days before the time), stated the same as the subject of the second article.[1] But, however this may have been, we shall see that the Conference was broken up before the second article came under debate.

"One day," continues Sander, "was spent in arranging

[1] *Zurich Letters*, Jewel to Martyr, March 20, 1559.

these conclusions. On the next day the Catholics met to choose, according to the custom of the Schools, the person who should act as their defender. They chose Dr Cole, Dean of St Paul's, London. Then on the third day a discussion was begun as to the language in which they were to dispute: for, when the Lutherans desired it to be in the vernacular, the Catholics petitioned the Queen that it might rather be in Latin; and when they seemed to have obtained this, they were again told on the fourth day that everything was to be done in the vernacular. By this time the Catholics began to understand that what was really intended was, by constant changing of the terms, to discomfit them whilst unprepared. Finally, on the very day on which they were to dispute, the Catholics were asked whether they had in writing what they were going to bring forward. To this they answered that, in order to avoid false accusations, they were very willing that all that should happen to be said in the course of the disputations should be written down, thinking, of course, that this would be done by the appointed notaries upon the spot."

All this, told by Sander in his Report to Morone, is in exact agreement with the letters of the Count de Feria, who, on the day before the Conference, wrote as follows to King Philip in a letter dated the 30th of March.

"I wrote to your Majesty on the 24th, and since then the Queen has commanded the persons whose names are given in the enclosed memorandum, to meet on each side to dispute on the three articles set forth. I have been pleased to bring the matter to this point, and am now trying to devise means to avoid any trick or subtilty in the form of the dispute, which the heretics may take advantage of afterwards. The best way that has occurred is that the dispute should be in Latin, and in writing, and that each disputant should sign what he says. The Queen at first had consented to this, but afterwards they sent to the Catholics to say that the dispute was to be in vulgar English, *verbal*, and in Parliament, which would be very bad. I shall go to the Queen to-morrow and see whether I cannot persuade her to return to the former

conditions. I try all I can to keep her pleasant and in good humour, and although sometimes I speak to her very freely, as I ought to do, having right and truth on my side, yet I think that for this very reason she does not get tired of me, but likes to discuss matters with me, and to such an extent is this so, that she does not want her people to hear of our intercourse, and they on their side are very suspicious that the coolness they discover in her about heresy is owing to my efforts on your Majesty's behalf."[1]

The result of his promised visit to the Queen is told by De Feria in his next letter, dated April the 4th, in which, referring to his previous letter of March 30, he says: "The next day [viz., the day of the Conference itself] I went to speak with the Queen. . . . She told me it was decided to hold it [the disputation] in English, and in writing, each side signing what they said." This could bear no other meaning than that in which, as Sander tells us, it was taken by the Bishops; namely, that each speaker in the disputation was to sign the report of what he said written by the notaries.

Before giving from this same letter of April the 4th the account of the Conference, which was written to his royal master by De Feria on the day after its abrupt conclusion, we may premise that, on the first day, Sander says, "There were opposed to each other four Bishops with as many Doctors and eight Lutherans." The names of the eight Catholic champions—viz., the Bishops of Winchester, Lichfield, Chester, and Carlisle, and Doctors Cole, Harpsfield, Langdale, and Chedsey—are found at the head of a Declaration which they had made on agreeing to the disputation (though at what precise date does not appear), a copy of which is preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College. In it they "protest before all

[1] *Spanish Calendar*, March 30, 1559. The truth of De Feria's last remark is confirmed by Jewel's letter, written at this very time to Martyr. "The Queen," he says, "though she openly favours our cause, yet is wonderfully afraid of allowing any innovations; this is owing partly to her own friends, by whose advice everything is carried on, *and partly to the influence of Count Feria, a Spaniard, and Philip's ambassador*" (*Zurich Letters*, March 20, 1559).

things that, being sons of the Church and members of Christ's mystical body, they are determined to do nothing which may be in any way opposed to the decrees and traditions of the same."[1]

The following is the Count de Feria's account of what took place:—

"On the same day, Friday, the last of March, there assembled in the choir of the church at Westminster, in the morning, the persons whose names I wrote to your Majesty, in the presence of the Council[2] and a great number of people of all sorts who had gathered to hear them, and although they had been given to understand that discussion was to be verbal and that all could express their opinion,[3] Dr Bacon, who is acting as Chancellor and Keeper of the Seals, then announced that they had to dispute in writing. The Catholics could not do this, as they had been deceived; but, nevertheless, Dr Cole, Dean of St Paul's, said something on the matter.[4] As soon as he had finished speaking, one of the heretics rose, and kneeling down with his back to the altar on which was the Blessed Sacrament, he prayed that God would inspire and enlighten those present to understand the truth. When the prayer was ended, another of them took out a book and read very diffusely all they had prepared and devised on the first point. When this was done the Bishops wished to follow up the discussion as they expected and reply to the heretics' arguments, but Bacon would not allow it. The Bishop of Winchester said that as no one had spoken on their side but Cole, and all of them had much to say,

[1] The original Latin document is given in Pocock's *Burnet*, vol. v., p. 529.

[2] Sander says that the Archbishop of York was seated amongst the members of the Council.

[3] "Podrian decir su voto" (*Fuensanta del Valle*, *Documentos Inéditos*, Madrid, 1886, t. lxxxvii., p. 152). These words are wrongly translated in the Calendar—"could give their vote!"

[4] Sander gives a summary of Dr Cole's speech in his Report to Morone. His *written* "answer to the first proposition of the Protestants" (composed *after* the first meeting) is given in Pocock's *Burnet*, vol. v., p. 514.

they should give them another day so that they might reduce what they had to say to writing, since they would not hear them now. If this were not done to give them the same advantage as their opponents, only one side would be heard; and so, with great difficulty and bad grace, they gave them till the following Monday."

Although De Feria does not here name the disputant who defended the first of the three articles brought forward by the Protestants, we know from the other accounts that it was Dr Horne, who under Edward VI. had been Dean of Durham, where he had indulged his fanatical hatred of the old religion by destroying the windows of the cloister in which the life of St Cuthbert was depicted. For this sacrilege he had had to flee the country under Mary, though by Elizabeth he was judged a fit person to be intruded later into the See of Winchester. Sander relates that, when Horne was about to read his paper, and "the Lutherans threw themselves in their canting way upon their knees and began to pray, the judge, the councillors, and nearly all his hearers, did the same. The Archbishop of York alone neither came down from the platform, nor uncovered his head, nor moved his lips, but, looking on, erect and motionless, obeyed the ancient Canon of the Council of Laodicea, which forbids the receiving the blessing of heretics, or the praying with them, and his example the Catholic Bishops and Doctors followed."

Horne then read his treatise, of which Sander gives a summary, and "when he had finished," continues Sander, "the Bishops, thinking all this to have been merely introductory, waited for arguments drawn up in syllogistic form. But the ruler of the debate, as had been agreed upon between him and the Lutherans, asked for the speech of each party to be given to him." In answer to this the Bishops replied, that "it was not customary to dispute in writing"; and that when, in arranging the conditions, "mention had been made of writing, they had understood it to mean that their arguments, after their delivery of them, were to be taken down in writing. . . . Two days were given them to write what they desired on the same

subject, and it was agreed that each party should afterwards deliver its treatise to its opponents. They were ordered also to think of the second question for the same day. Thus was the first day wasted without any disputation." Il Schifanoya remarks that the people went away "with their ears full of the Protestant book," which Horne had read, and "a more impious one," he concludes with saying, "cannot be either found or even imagined."[1]

The Bishops, Sander tells us, entrusted the defence of the Church's teaching on the second question to "John Harpsfield, Archdeacon of London," whom many writers have confused in this connection with his brother Nicholas, the historian, who was Archdeacon of Canterbury.

At the second meeting of the Conference, on April 3, the Bishop of Lincoln took the place of Dr Langdale amongst the Catholic defenders, amongst whom therefore on that day there were five Bishops and three Doctors, without reckoning the Abbot of Westminster, who also took some part in the debate; though whether as one of the appointed champions, or not, is not quite clear.

The official account throws upon the Catholic defenders the entire blame for the untimely conclusion of this second meeting, in which, it says, "Upon what sinister or disordered meaning, is not yet fully known (though in some part it be understanded), the Bishop of Winchester and his colleagues, and specially Lincoln, refused to exhibit or read, according to the former notorious order on Friday, that which they had prepared for the second assertion."

How impossible it was for them to carry on the pretended Conference under the flagrantly unjust conditions which were imposed upon them, we shall see from the accounts which have been brought to light in recent years; and in reality the holding of the so-called Disputation was a mere device for breaking down the opposition of the Bishops, by furnishing a pretext for punishing them as contumacious, if they could not be overcome in argument.

[1] *Venetian Calendar*, April 11, 1559.

To see what took place at the second meeting, we will again turn first to the letter of De Feria, which was written, as has been remarked already, on the day immediately following.

"The following Monday" (April the 3rd), writes the Spanish ambassador, "when they again met at the same place, the Catholics then wanted to read the written answer they had brought according to agreement; which answer, I understand, contained many very good arguments, as indeed their adversaries must also have thought and regretted, to judge from what followed. Bacon told the Catholics that they had to pass on to the second article, as the first had already been discussed on Friday. The Bishops replied that they had not given their opinion upon the first article, as they had not been allowed to speak; but that they had now brought their opinion in writing, and begged that it might be read. For this purpose Dr Harpsfield, Archdeacon of St Paul's, rose four times with the paper in his hand, and was refused permission each time; Bacon urging them still to pass to the second article, and they replying that they wished to be heard on the first; and as they claimed it as their right, Bacon said they could hand in their paper without reading it. To this the Bishops replied that, as their opponents had impressed their arguments on the minds of the hearers, it was not just that they should be prevented from doing the same; and, indeed, this was the reason for the discussion being ordered, as it was not necessary to meet for any other purpose.

"They were again pressed to go on to the second article, and told that it was the Queen's wish and command that they should do so; and on their being asked whether they would obey or not, the Bishops answered that they could not do so without grave prejudice to their cause, and complained of the many other unfair and injurious things that had been done to them.

"As they remained firm in their position, the Abbot of Westminster rose and said that, although the Bishops were right, and an injury was being done to them by

forcing them to discuss the second article, when they had only come prepared to discuss the first; yet, to obey the Queen's command he offered to reply to their opponents' arguments on the second article.

"Although the Bishops did not approve of this, they would have put up with it, if the heretics had set forth their views; but even this could not be arranged with them, and Bacon insisted that they (the Bishops) should begin and speak on the second article.

"At such a manifest injustice as this, the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln said it was a great shame that they should be treated so badly, and made to raise questions —they being Catholics and therefore not obliged to open disputes—although they would gladly reply to them, and justify the Catholic doctrine to any who desired it, even though they were open heretics.

"On one of the adversaries telling him that *they* were the guardians of the churches, Bishop Bayne (of Lichfield) asked them, of what Church?—English or German?—since in England there was only one Church, with which *they* had nothing to do. If German, which one did they mean? as they had heard there were several. Finally, the matter was dealt with in a way that the heretics were routed and the colloquy ended."[1]

The following is Sander's version of the above speech of Bishop Bayne: "It is necessary," he said, "for disputants at least to agree on certain principles; for no proper disputation ever can be held with one who denies everything. Therefore, in order that we may argue more securely, I should wish to ask these persons (for they admit that they do not belong to us, or rather that they are against us), to what school then they do belong? Do they profess themselves Lutherans, or Zwinglians, or Anabaptists? Or, in fine, which one in particular out of the thirty sects now growing up in Germany do they claim as their own? When they have told us this, then we on our side shall know what they admit, and from what principles they may be refuted."

[1] *Spanish Calendar*, April 4, 1559.

At "the second meeting," writes Il Schifanoya, "the Bishops, most especially those of Winchester and Lincoln, commenced by reprehending the procedure at the first sitting, and urged that this was not the way to enlighten the people and to extirpate heresy; that still less was it the way to discuss the precepts of God, and to distinguish the false doctrine from the true; and that on no account would they submit to such proceedings; that if the Protestants chose to dispute about matters of faith and religion, *servatis servandis*, the Bishops were there for that purpose; and they insisted that at this second Conference the Protestants should be the first to speak, as the Catholics had done at the first, saying, 'Who can doubt that the people who depart with the last words said in their heads, will always give more credit to what they remember than to what they have forgotten?' The Protestants not giving ear to this, there was a very stormy debate, in such wise that the two good Bishops, inflamed with ardent zeal for God, said most boldly that they would not consent [to do otherwise], nor ever change their opinion from any fear. . . . They were answered that this was the will of the Queen, and that they would be punished for their disobedience."[1]

Before going on to relate the heavy penalties which were inflicted on the Catholic defenders for their asserted contumacy, a word must be said as to the position taken in the Conference by Archbishop Heath of York.

We have seen that the Archbishop was the medium of communication between the Council and the other Bishops in the arrangement of the conditions on which the Conference was to be conducted; and that in the Conference itself he was seated, not amongst the Bishops, but amongst the members of the Council. No doubt he felt it necessary to be as conciliatory as it was possible without sacrifice of principle, but that he acted throughout in entire agreement with the Bishops is evident from the three contemporary accounts from which the foregoing narrative has been put together, and we have seen how highly Sander and the

[1] *Venetian Calendar*, April 11, 1559.

others praise him. Still it is clear that his position was necessarily extremely delicate, and it is not surprising therefore that it gave occasion later to some misunderstanding on the part even of a friendly writer such as Father Persons, who had no opportunity of consulting any other account of the proceedings than that given by John Foxe.

Father Persons speaks of the Conference at some length in the Third Part of his *Three Conversions of England*, which he published in 1604; and in this he says that the Archbishop of York sat at the Conference "in his room amongst other Councillors. . . . as one of them, *and rather against the Bishops than for them*, though no doubt the good man meant not so."[1]

Foxe (to whom alone Persons refers throughout for what he says about the Conference) gives the unfair official account of the proceedings, with a long addition of his own about the doings of the second day, his authority for which he does not name. In this latter part (for which we have no other voucher than the word of Foxe), the Archbishop of York is represented as having himself blamed the Bishops for refusing to go on to the second question. "Ye are to blame," he is there made to say, "to stand in this issue; for there was a plain decreed order taken for you to entreat of the second question. Wherefore leave you your contention herein, and show what ye have to say in the second question."[2]

No such speech is put into the Archbishop's mouth, either in the official account, signed by Bacon and eight other members of the Council,[3] or in those of any of the Catholic reporters present; neither is it mentioned by Holinshed, or Stowe. Foxe's account, however, was the only one accessible to Father Persons; and though he was able, even from that, to expose the injustice with which the Bishops had been treated, it unfortunately led him (both here, and in his posthumous *Story of Domestical*

[1] *Ten Public Disputations*, 1604, p. 80; printed at the end of the Third Part of the Three Conversions.

[2] *Acts and Monuments*, vol. iii., p. 827, ed. 1684.

[3] Pocock's *Burnet*, vol. v., p. 529.

Difficulties)[1] to speak less favourably of Archbishop Heath's action in this matter than he would otherwise have done.

We must now see the penalties which were imposed upon the Catholic champions for their supposed disobedience in the Conference.

"The meeting being thus dissolved," says Sander, "the Catholic Bishops and Doctors were, a little later, all cast into prison,[2] and fines were imposed upon them for not having obeyed this excellent moderator [of a debate], who had invented a method of answering arguments, not like that of Aristotle or Plato, but like that devised by Alexander the Great when he severed the Gordian knot, not by his cleverness, but by his sword."

From the official account, which concludes as follows, we learn that two of the Bishops were more summarily dealt with than the others, being committed that same evening to the Tower.

"Afterwards, for the contempt so notoriously made, the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, having most obstinately both disobeyed common authority, and varied manifestly from their own order; and specially Lincoln, who showed more folly than the other, were condignly committed to the Tower of London; and the rest, saving the Abbot of Westminster, stand bound to make daily their personal appearance before the Council, and not to depart the city of London and Westminster, until further order be taken with them for their disobedience and contempt."[3]

"In the afternoon," writes De Feria in the conclusion of his letter, "the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln were sent prisoners in a boat to the Tower, as they had been most conspicuous against the heretics, and their goods have been sequestrated. I am also told to-day that they will send the other six to the Tower, three Bishops and

[1] See on this, page 48, note 2.

[2] Sander was writing, it must be remembered, in 1561, by which time all the champions had been imprisoned.

[3] Pocock's *Burnet*, vol. v., p. 528.

three Doctors who were in the discussion, only leaving the Abbot of Westminster, as he said he would discuss the second article out of obedience."[1]

The news of the termination of the Conference, and of the penalties which it had brought upon his Catholic opponents, was thus triumphantly made known by Jewel, three days later, to Peter Martyr, against whose errors the Bishop of Winchester formerly had written. "Your friend White, Bishop of Winchester, and Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, were committed to the Tower for open contempt and contumacy. *There they are now employed in castrametation!* . . . The rest are bound in recognisances to appear at court from day to day, and await the determination of the Council respecting them."[2]

The instructions given to the Lieutenant of the Tower, as to the keeping of the two Bishops committed to his charge on April 3, are to be found in the Acts of the Privy Council for that day.

"A letter to the Lieutenant of the Tower with the bodies of the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, whom he is willed to keep in sure and several [*i.e. separate*] ward, suffering them nevertheless to have each of them one of their own men to attend upon them, and their own stuff for their bedding and other necessary furniture, and to appoint them to some convenient lodgings meet for persons of their sort, using them also otherwise well, specially the Bishop of Lincoln, for that he is sick; for

[1] *Spanish Calendar*, April 4, 1559. We must not fail to notice that not one of the contemporary accounts of the Conference, whether written by Catholics or Protestants, makes any mention of what Camden (who wrote more than fifty years after the event) was the first to assert; viz., that the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln had threatened to excommunicate the Queen, and that this was the cause of their imprisonment. (*Annals*, ed. 1615, p. 27.) Had this been true, Father Bridgett most justly argues that it would have been impossible that it should not have been mentioned, at all events in private letters such as those of Cox and Jewel (*Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 162). The same, of course, holds good with reference to those of the Catholic ambassadors, which Father Bridgett had not had the opportunity of seeing.

[2] *Zurich Letters*, 1st series, Ep. 5, April 6, 1559.

which respect also, and because this is his sick night, the said lieutenant is willed to have the rather regard unto him, and to spare him some of his own lodging and stuff for this night, and also to suffer his surgeon and such other as shall be needful for his health to have access unto him from time to time."

On the same day the Council ordered two of its members—Sir Ambrose Cave and Sir Richard Sackville—"to repair to the houses of the said Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln here in London, and both to peruse their studies and writings, and also to take order with their officers for the surety and stay of their goods."[1]

It seems to have been with reference to this last order, that De Feria wrote that their goods had been sequestered. The examination of their papers shows apparently the desire of the Council to discover grounds on which to incriminate the Bishops further.

In spite of the illness of one of the two venerable prisoners, they both were kept for more than three weeks "in sure and several ward," that is to say, as *close prisoners*, each in a cell by himself,—until, on account of the Bishop of Lincoln's continued illness, the Council found it necessary, on April the 27th, to direct the Lieutenant to suffer him "to come at such times as he by his discretion shall think meet to his table, for the better relief of his quartan ague; and also to have that liberty of the house as prisoners heretofore having the liberty of the Tower hath used; the ordering whereof is referred to his discretion."[2]

To the good Bishop of Winchester, however, no such indulgence was extended; and since there is every reason to believe that his death, which was so soon to follow, was due in no small degree to what he had to suffer in this first imprisonment; it will be worth our while to try to understand what "close confinement" in those days involved. It is a thing moreover to which we shall often have to refer later.

[1] Acts of Privy Council, April 3, 1559.
[2] *Ibid.*, April 27, 1559.

The following from Mr Simpson's *Life of B. Edmund Campion*, will give some idea of the life led by a "*close prisoner*" in the Tower, as distinct from that of one who was allowed to enjoy its so-called "liberty."

"The rules for the close prisoners still remain on record: all their windows were blocked up, and light and air conveyed to them by a 'slope tunnel,' slanting upwards so that nothing might be seen but the sky, glazed or latticed at the top so that nothing might be thrown in or out; closed also at the bottom with a casement made fast and not to open, save, if need were, one diamond pane with its leaden quarrel. And these openings were to be daily examined, to see whether any glass was broken or board removed, and especially whether any of the pieces of lead with which the glass was tied were taken away to write with. No one was allowed to pass by the Tower wharf without cause, and watchmen were on the look-out to observe whether any of the passengers made any stay, or cast his eyes up to the prison windows. The like watch was also kept over passengers by Tower-hill. The lieutenant himself was always to be present when a keeper held communications with a close prisoner, and the key of his cell was always to be in the lieutenant's own custody. Any servant kept by such a prisoner was subject to the same regulation as his master. Everything sent to him was to be searched, his clothes examined, pies opened, bread cut across, and bottles decanted. The strictest rules were made about admitting strangers, and every keeper and servant in the place was bound by oath to carry no message. This system of secrecy was, however, tempered with bribery. Much of the lieutenant's income was derived from the prisoners in his custody, and those who paid liberally were treated with some consideration; neither was it possible always to make the watch so strict as to keep the keepers and servants to the letter of the regulations, and bribery, or pity, or favour, would often modify a state which in its strictness would have been intolerable. And the lieutenant had in his hands terrors as well as palliatives. It is peculiar to the Tower, says Edward

Rishton in his journal, that each prisoner is confined in a separate cell, where under the eye of his own keeper he is continually immured, excluded from the sight and conversation of his fellow-captives, and cut off from every means of communication with others, either by letters or messengers. It is from this cell that he is led forth to the various scenes of his sufferings, to the punishments which the caprice of his persecutors is permitted to inflict on him, to his examinations, and to the rack where his confessions are extorted."[1]

In the case of Bishop White of Winchester, there is no reason for supposing any actual torture to have been used upon him; but that the usual regulations for the confinement of close prisoners were strictly enforced in his regard is proved by the severe restrictions which were placed on those, who, after the Holy Confessor had been detained in solitary confinement for five whole weeks, at last obtained the Council's leave to visit him. These very permissions show moreover how much he had suffered meantime, amongst other things, from the unwholesome prison diet. Thus on the 9th of the month following his committal, the Council's Acts record a letter sent by that all-powerful body to the Lieutenant of the Tower, directing him "to suffer the Bishop of Winchester's cook from time to time to attend upon him for the dressing of his meat, *so as he speak only with him in his presence, or such as he shall appoint;* and in like sort to suffer the Lady White, his sister, to repair unto him at such times, as he shall think meet, so as *ut supra*."[2]

Thus neither his own sister, nor his cook, was allowed to see the Bishop, except in presence of his gaoler or of one appointed by him. Similarly, leave was given three days later for three "officers to the Bishop of Winchester to repair to the said Bishop at such time as [the lieutenant]

[1] *Edmund Campion*, a biography by Richard Simpson, pp. 336-337.

[2] Acts of Privy Council, May 9, 1559. Father Bridgett remarks that the "Lady White" here mentioned may have been either his own sister, who was married to Sir Thomas White; or his sister-in-law, wife to Sir John White, his brother (*Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 67).

shall think meet, for the understanding of his reckonings and accounts, foreseeing that they *be only suffered to speak with him in his own presence.*"[1]

Leaving the two Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln in the Tower, we must now turn back to see the penalties inflicted on their brother defenders of the faith at Westminster.

On April 11, De Feria wrote: "The two Bishops are still in the Tower. . . . They have not done anything with the others yet. . . . They (the Bishops) are very steadfast and determined to die if necessary. Nothing more has been said about the disputation. *The effect has been a good one*, and the matter ended in their seeing that they were doing an injustice to the Bishops, who, however, refused to allow a wrong to be done to their cause, and this has greatly encouraged the Catholics and thrown the heretics into some confusion."[2] It is clear, then, that there were at least *some* who did not think that the real victory had rested with the persecutors; although Jewel had the effrontery to write to Peter Martyr that, "the people all begin to suspect that the Bishops refused to say anything only because they had not anything to say."[3]

Meantime, on the day after the Conference, the other Catholic disputants, viz., the Bishops of Lichfield, Chester, and Carlisle, with Dr Cole, Dean of St Paul's, and Drs Harpsfield and Chedsey, Archdeacons respectively of London and of Middlesex, had been summoned before the Council, and required each of them to give recognisances to the following effect: "1st. To make his personal appearance before the Lords of the Council once every day. 2nd. Not to depart the cities of London and Westminster and the suburbs of London, until he shall have licence so to do. 3rd. To stand unto and pay such fine as shall be by the Lords of the Council assessed upon him for the

[1] *Ibid.*, May 12, 1559.
[2] *Spanish Calendar*, April 14, 1559.
[3] *Zurich Letters*, 1st series, Ep. 5.

contempt by him of late committed against the Queen's Majesty's order."[1]

The bonds required of them, as security for their obedience to these tyrannous demands, were from the Bishop of Lichfield for 2000 marks, from the Bishop of Chester for £1000, and from the Bishop of Carlisle for 500 marks. The actual fines they were to pay were only determined a month later.

In this humiliating manner therefore these venerable dignitaries of the Church, one of whom was the very Bishop who had just placed the crown on the Queen's head, and whose only crime consisted in their maintenance of England's ancient faith, were forced from this time to show themselves daily to their unprincipled lay judges; and in the Council's Acts their daily appearance is found recorded from April 5 until May 12 inclusive, at which point the Acts fail us for three years.

In only one respect was this galling and unworthy sentenced modified. On April 8, the Council passed a resolution that the three Bishops, "before bounden, shall from henceforth *upon the Parliament days* record their appearance *there* to the Lord Great Seal, . . . and that it shall be sufficient for them so to do; that nevertheless upon the Sundays they must for that purpose show themselves in the Court, as they did before. This order to be observed during the time of Parliament only, and afterwards to perform the tenor of their said recognisances."[2] This resolution, though it allowed them, on days when Parliament sat, to show themselves to Bacon in the House of Lords instead of in the Council Chamber, still left the poor Bishops under the obligation, even upon Sundays, of appearing before the Council when there was no Parliament.

All this persecution failed, however, to intimidate these holy Bishops in their opposition to the irreligious measures then before the Parliament. "It is worthy of admiration," most justly remarks Fr. Bridgett, "that the

[1] Acts of Privy Council, April 4, 1559.
[2] *Ibid.*, April 8, 1559.

names of these three Bishops, then under the daily threats of the Court, appear, nevertheless, in every division in Parliament during that time as opponents to the Government measures. So far were they from being intimidated or seeking to avoid the threatened fine, by either voting against their conscience or absence from Parliament."[1]

Parliament was dissolved, as we have seen, on May 8, having passed the laws for the alteration of religion by the narrowest of majorities. Three days later, we read in the Council's Acts that, "upon consideration of the contempt committed by the Bishops of Lichfield, Carlisle, and Chester, and Dr Cole, Dr Harpsfield, and Dr Chedsey, [the Council] did assess the fines, which each of them was heretofore bound to stand unto, to be for their said offences as followeth: The said Bishop of Lichfield £333, 6s. 8d.; the Bishop of Carlisle £250; the Bishop of Chester 200 marks; Dr Cole 500 marks; Dr Harpsfield £40; Dr Chedsey 40 marks."[2]

These sums would have to be multiplied at least by ten to express their equivalent in present money. How soon the poor Bishops were able to pay off these heavy fines, and how much longer they had to go on presenting themselves daily to the Council, we have no means of knowing in consequence of the disappearance of the Council's Acts belonging to the next three years.

[1] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 26.
[2] Acts of Privy Council, May 11, 1559.

CHAPTER VII

DISPLACEMENT OF THE BISHOPS BY THE CIVIL POWER

In his Report to Cardinal Morone, Sander lays great stress upon the fact that, "by one of the first laws of Parliament," nothing can be really binding that has not been freely decreed by the three orders of the spiritual peers, the temporal peers, and the Commons. Since, therefore, the Acts, by which England as a country was severed from the Church, had been passed in opposition to the will of one entire order, every single spiritual peer having given his vote against them, "it is certain," he declares, "that these laws are not only impious and unjust" in themselves, "but *are in truth no laws at all* . . . having been merely tyrannically carried by a few against the established laws of Parliament."

In this view Sander was supported by the other Catholic writers of the day.

"Nevertheless," continues Sander, "since what the Queen desired with respect to religion had been passed, the only course left open [to the Bishops] under the existing tyranny was either, after a time, to give it their consent, or else to be deprived of their dignity."

We have now to see how resolutely these holy men made choice of the last of these alternatives; and that too, although they well understood the consequences which their deprivation would bring upon themselves.

According to the Act which had been passed, the oath of the Queen's supremacy over the Church was to be taken by "all beneficed ecclesiastics," under pain of forfeiting their present offices, and of being disabled to receive any

others; and the Bishops, having failed to hinder the passing of this iniquitous measure, had now to await the action of the Government.

The Count de Feria, who had done all he could to assist them in their hopeless struggle, was now about to leave the country; and in his last letter from London, written on the 10th of May, he thus describes the situation to King Philip:—"The news here is that Parliament closed the day before yesterday—Monday—and the Queen having confirmed what had been adopted, which I wrote to your Majesty, she now remains governess of the Anglican Church. The Bishops, and others who are considered Catholics, are as firm as on the first day. . . . From Easter they will begin to say all the service everywhere in English, and they have already commenced to do so in the Queen's chapel. They tell me that everything is worse even than in the time of King Edward. . . . They make difficulties about giving licence to Catholics who want to leave the country. In the presence of the Queen the acting Chancellor told the Bishops that *none of them were to go to their houses* without permission. They leave themselves in the hands of God. They are excellent men, and have borne themselves bravely and piously. . . . The saying of the service in English and the abolition of the Mass passed by three votes in the Upper House, although the Bishops and some of the principal men opposed it strongly; it is all roguery and injustice."[1]

From the prohibition laid upon them against returning "to their houses" (by which, from the next letter, we see were meant their dioceses), it is clear that, although only two of the Bishops were yet actually in prison, the real liberty of all of them was already at an end.

When the above was written by the Count de Feria, his successor, as ambassador to Queen Elizabeth from the Court of Spain, already had arrived in London. The new envoy, Don Alvaro de la Quadra, was not merely an ecclesiastic, but was Bishop of the See of Aquila in King Philip's Neapolitan dominions—although he resigned his

[1] *Spanish Calendar*, May 10, 1559.

Bishopric soon after his appointment as ambassador, and devoted himself for the remainder of his life to the maintenance of the Catholic cause in England, for which purpose he also received special faculties from Pope Pius IV.[1]

On the same day that De Feria wrote, as above quoted, to the King, Bishop Quadra wrote as follows to the Duke of Alba, the Governor of Flanders.

"At eight o'clock on Monday [May 8] the Queen went to Parliament, and exactly confirmed what they had adopted as they read it from a book. She only left open for consideration the clause where she is to take the title of Head of the Church, and for the present only assumes the style of 'Governor.' This is said to have been done on the ground that she may marry, and her husband might then take the title. It is only a question of words, as 'governor' and 'head' after all mean the same thing. Yesterday they took the Blessed Sacrament away from the palace chapel, and some sort of Mass was performed in English, as they are doing in many parish churches. The Bishops are ordered not to leave London without the Queen's consent. They say the oath will at once be proffered to them, which they will not take, and that they will thereupon be all deprived at one blow, and the new Bishops put in their seats. The decree is to the effect that any person who shall oppose the *doctrine* prescribed by the Queen,[2] shall lose his patrimonial property (salaries and ecclesiastical revenues being confiscated for a refusal to take the oath) for the first offence, and the second offence is punishable by death."[3]

[1] At the Record Office, amongst the Roman Transcripts, there is a copy of a letter from Pope Pius IV. to Bishop Quadra, dated October 2, 1562, highly commending his efforts, and empowering him to absolve from heresy, and to give like faculties to English priests.

[2] *I.e.*, by *impugning* the Queen's supremacy, or defending that of the Pope.

[3] *Spanish Calendar*, May 10, 1559. The above statement of the penalties is not quite correct. By the Act, the second offence was punishable with perpetual imprisonment, and the *third* with death (Hallam, *Constit. Hist.*, vol. i., p. 152).

The special detestation, in which the reforming party held good Bishop Bonner, caused him to be selected for the first sufferer under the new persecuting laws. His deprivation, together with that of Dr Cole, the Dean of his cathedral, is recorded by Machyn in his *Diary* as having taken place less than a month after the Parliament was closed, viz., on May 29.[1] Some new and interesting details with regard to it are supplied by the letters of Il Schifanoya, who on the next day wrote as follows to the Castellan of Mantua.

"With regard to religion, they live in all respects in the Lutheran fashion in all the churches of London, except St Paul's, which still keeps firm in its former state until the day of St John the Baptist (24th June), when the period prescribed by Parliament expires, the Act being in the press, and soon about to appear. But the Council nevertheless sent twice or thrice to summon the Bishop of London to give him orders to remove the service of the Mass and of the Divine Office in that Church; but he answered them intrepidly—'I possess three things—soul, body, and property. Of the two [last] you can dispose at your pleasure, but as to the soul God alone can command me.' He remains constant about body and property, and again to-day he has been called to the Council, but I do not yet know what they said to him.[2] All the Bishops are likewise disposed to await their sentence and decision, and many other Prelates after them; which sentence and decision will soon be known. In the interval the false

[1] *Diary*, p. 200.

[2] It must be noted that Il Schifanoya wrote this account of Bishop Bonner's answer on the day immediately after its delivery, and therefore four years before the appearance of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, of which the first edition came out in 1563. If Foxe may be relied on, much the same thing, as regards the three things he possessed, viz., "a few goods, a poor carcase, and a soul," had been said by the good Bishop on an earlier occasion, when brought before the Council of Edward VI. The circumstances having been in each case similar, he may naturally have answered in the same way each time.

preachers do not fail to preach publicly in all the churches demanding their revenues."[1]

It was apparently upon this same occasion that Bishop Bonner made to the Council the brave answer, which Sander relates in his Report to Cardinal Morone:— "If any other religion than the Catholic shall be introduced into my Church, it shall be, not only without knowledge on my part, but against my will."

Il Schifanoya tells the remainder of the story of Bishop Bonner's deprivation, a week later, on June the 6th:—

"The Council summoned the Bishop of London, and requested him earnestly with loving exhortations to resign the Bishopric to one Master Grindal, telling him that such was the will of her Majesty; and yesterday the Dean and Chancellors of St Paul's, by the commission of the Queen, were to make the election, to which they would by no means consent; neither would the Bishop, although they offered him a very good pension for life, to which he replied that he would never do so, *and preferred death.* He was answered, 'Consider well your case, and how you will live.' He rejoined, 'It is true nothing else remains to me, but I hope in God, who will not fail me; and in my friends, by so much the more as I shall be able to gain my livelihood by teaching children: which profession I did not disdain to exercise although I was a Bishop. And should I not find any one willing to accept my teaching, I am Doctor in the Laws, and will resume the study of what I have forgotten, and will thus gain my bread. And should this not succeed, I know how to labour with my hands in gardens and orchards, as in planting, grafting, sowing, etc., as well as any gardener in this kingdom. And should this also be insufficient, I desire no other grace, favour, or privilege from her Majesty than what she grants to the mendicants, who go through London from door to door begging, that I may do the like if necessary.' When the Council heard this, his final determination, they said, 'Well, we have nothing more to do with you for the present, so her Majesty will provide herself with another Bishop.'

[1] *Venetian Calendar*, May 30, 1559.

And she has done so. The poor Bishop has taken sanctuary in Westminster Abbey, to avoid molestation from many persons who demand considerable sums of money from him[1]; but the Abbey cannot last long, as the Abbot made a similar reply, when it was offered to him to remain securely in his Abbey with his habit, and the monks to live together as they have done till now: provided that he would celebrate in his Church the Divine Offices and Mass, administering the sacraments in the same manner as in the other churches of London; and that he would take the oath like the other servants, officials, pensioners, and dependents of the Crown; and acknowledge this establishment as from the hands of her Majesty. To these things the Abbot would by no means consent; so after St John's day, the term fixed by Parliament for all persons to consent and swear to all the statutes and laws, or to lose what they have, all of them will go about their business; though no one can leave the kingdom. . . . All the Bishops are expecting hourly to be deprived not only of their revenues, but also of their dignities, and everybody marvels at so much constancy! The Bishop of Ely abandons 15,000 crowns revenue, the Archbishop of York, late Lord Chancellor of England, little less, and all the others in proportion to their grade. I hear that owing to this great constancy it is determined in secret to proceed more adroitly in enforcing the oath (to observe) the Statutes, and many will perhaps be exempted from it, most especially the nobility, perhaps from fear of some insurrection. They have appointed the inquisitors, who will commence visiting the churches; and after St John's day, all who do not go to church to hear their sermons and office will be fined. . . . I have heard to-day that a married priest, named Parker,

[1] On Elizabeth's accession, a claim was made by certain relatives of Ridley (who under Edward VI. had been intruded into the See of London), for certain "goods of his come into the hands of the Bishop of London that now is" (Acts of Privy Council, Dec. 31, 1558). The Council ordered an inquiry to be made into the matter, the result of which is not recorded. It may be that these relatives of Ridley's are the claimants who are here referred to.

who was chaplain to Queen Anne Boleyn, has been made Archbishop of Canterbury."[1]

An additional and independent testimony to the violence with which, against the will of all the Bishops, the change of religion was effected at the bidding of the Court, and at the same time a pleasing proof of the high esteem in which Bishop Bonner was held by all excepting those of the reforming party, is supplied us by a letter written at this time by the French ambassador in London, Gilles de Noailles, to the Constable of France :—

"This Princess and her whole Council are labouring much to establish religion here according to their liking; and since none of the Bishops have been willing to agree to it, she has begun already to deprive them of their posts and to provide others, as she did three days ago to the Bishop of London, a personage of great learning and reputation; and for this there is considerable discontent amongst the Catholics, who, as far as I can understand, are still in number quite enough not to think so soon of submitting to such violence to their conscience and to God's honour, as is this forcible severity."[2]

In this way, then, began the tyrannical displacement of the faithful Bishops by the civil power from their Sees. That the actors in this iniquitous proceeding were not themselves unconscious of the objections to which it was open, and which we have already heard expressed by Sander, is made clear by the following letter of Bishop Quadra written some days after the above, on June the 19th.

"They have just begun to carry out the law against the Bishops, and have in fact deprived the Bishop and the Dean of London, casting them out of their Church, changing the services, and doing away with the Holy Sacrament, which was done last Sunday, the 11th instant.

"It appears now that they find a difficulty in giving

[1] *Venetian Calendar*, June 6, 1559.

[2] R. O. Baschet's transcripts. M. Gilles de Noailles à M. le Connestable, Londres, 7 Juin 1559 (*Archives des Affaires Etrangères, serie Angleterre*, Reg. IV., p. 250).

legal form to this deprivation, as the doctors here say the Bishops cannot be deprived for disobeying this law, whose adoption and promulgation they have always opposed and resisted; alleging that it cannot be enforced according to the custom of the realm, as it is made in opposition to the whole ecclesiastical body.

"They would not take this into consideration, as they ought to have done, before the Queen confirmed the Acts of Parliament, and it is thus clear that what they are now doing is through fear of disturbance in the country, and of putting weapons in the hands of their enemies. I am assured that the majority of the Council are not pleased that this religious question has been carried so far, and great division and confusion reign amongst them. The judges of England, as they are called, who have come here for the terms, have refused to swear, and have gone to their homes, as they have not dared to press them about it. The same thing will happen to many others, and it is thought they will not dare to press any one as they had intended. . . . They have offered the Archbishop of York all his revenue, and will not administer the oath to him, on condition that he consents to the appointment of a heretic vicar-general; but neither he, nor others to whom similar offers have been made, have consented. This confused state of things still exists, and I do not know how it will be settled, as there are difficulties in depriving them; and if they do not deprive them, no one will execute the Queen's command, nor change the religion of their churches."[1]

Nevertheless, these difficulties did not deter Elizabeth and her counsellors from carrying out their undertaking; and four weeks after Bishop Bonner's deposition we find no less than seven other Bishops (including the two imprisoned in the Tower), deprived on one same day, June the 26th, as described in the following letters of Bishop Quadra and Il Schifanoya.

"Last week," wrote Bishop Quadra on Tuesday, June the 27th, "they summoned five Bishops to the Council and

[1] *Spanish Calendar*, June 19, 1559.

proffered them the oath with great promises and threats as well, but none of them would swear." These evidently were the "five Bishops of Lichfield, Carlisle, Chester, Llandaff, and" [Worcester], whose deprivation Machyn notes in his *Diary* on June the 21st[1]; although he was mistaken in supposing their actual deprivation to have been accomplished on that day. The name of the fifth Bishop — left blank by Machyn—is supplied to us by Il Schifanoya's list of those deprived already quoted.[2]

"They were ordered," continues Quadra, "yesterday [June 26th], to return to the house of the Sheriff of London, whither they brought also the two Bishops from the Tower, and again tried to persuade them to swear; but they would not. They were greatly insulted and mocked at, and at last were ordered not to leave London until after September, and to go no further away than Westminster under pain of £500 each, and they had to find bail for this amount. The two were taken back to prison, and both they and the others deprived of their preferments *de facto*, since by law the Doctors are still of opinion that they cannot be deprived for refusing to swear to the laws of the country. They themselves (*i.e.*, the Doctors) refuse to swear."[3]

The following is Il Schifanoya's account of the same sad event, the sight of which had evidently deeply touched him—written on the same day as the above of Bishop Quadra's:—

"Six or eight Bishops have been deprived, not only of their Bishoprics, but of all their other revenues, being bound also not to depart from England, and not to preach or exhort whatever in public or private, and still less to write anything against the orders and statutes of this Parliament. . . . Thus they will continue depriving every one, not only the Bishops, but the Deans, Archdeacons, and other Prelates, who will not consent to their abuses,

[1] *Diary*, p. 200.

[2] See the list of the Bishops by that time deprived (quoted p. 13), from Il Schifanoya's letter of June 27, 1559.

[3] *Spanish Calendar*, June 27, 1559.

nor take the oath, the form of which is enclosed, translated into our tongue, and I think I never saw the like. Yesterday these good Reverend Fathers underwent their deprivation, and received orders where they are to dwell, before the Council which assembled here in London in the house of a sheriff for this purpose; they being humble, abject, and habited like simple priests—a sight which would have grieved you. But in the words of Paul [*sic*], '*Ibant gaudentes a conspectu concilii*,' etc., being followed by a wonderful concourse of the common people, some of whom said one thing, and some another; but the Bishops tolerated everything patiently, for love of Christ. I send you a list of those who remain to be deprived, and of those who are dead,[1] not one turncoat having yet been found. The Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Ely, your lordship's friend,[2] remain for the last to be summoned, in hope of gaining them, all possible temptations not wanting, being such rare men as they are, and necessary in affairs [of state]; but there is no doubt of their faith and constancy, both of them having spoken so candidly in Parliament, and still persevering in their integrity. The Abbot of Westminster with all his monks did the like, and are therefore now deprived of the revenues of the monastery and of all the rest of their property. We have no longer Masses anywhere except in the houses of the French and Spanish ambassadors."

The reader will not have failed to notice that amongst the seven Bishops, deprived together on this same June 26, were all the five courageous Prelates who had distinguished themselves in the conference at Westminster. Of these, during the whole time intervening, the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln had been kept imprisoned in the Tower; and we have seen from Quadra's letter how they were both brought from thence to the Sheriff's house to be

[1] The list referred to has been already given from this letter, on page 13.

[2] Vivaldino, the Mantuan ambassador at Brussels, to whom this letter was addressed, had probably met the Bishop of Ely on occasion of the latter's recent embassy to France.

deprived at the same time as their three fellow-disputants and the Bishops of Worcester and of Llandaff; the last mentioned of whom had so far stood bravely by his brother Prelates, and at first submitted even to deprivation.

Il Schifanoya concludes his account with the following particulars as to the disposal of the two Bishops brought from prison: "Of the two Bishops in the Tower, Lincoln was released, being allowed ten days to decide about taking the oath, or being deprived; and the other, Winchester, was confined there for having told the Lords of the Council, perhaps more boldly than necessary, that in his Church he would not tolerate this new mode of officiating, as it was heretical and schismatic. 'Then,' they replied, 'is the Queen heretical and schismatic?' And thus in anger they sent him back to the Tower."[1]

What is here related by Il Schifanoya is in complete agreement with what Machyn has recorded in his *Diary*, in which we find the following note for June 26: "The same day was deprived of their Bishoprics, the Bishop of Winchester and the Bishop of Lincoln at Master Hawse, the King's Sheriff, in Mincing Lane; and the Bishop of Winchester to the Tower again, and the Bishop of Lincoln delivered away."[2]

Unfortunately, the letter of Il Schifanoya's above quoted is the last of his we have, as he left England soon after writing it, unwilling, it seems, to remain in a country where he could no longer freely practise his religion. We learn, however, from a note of Machyn's, twelve days later, that, on July 7, the Bishop of Winchester was removed from the Tower to the house of his brother, Sir John White, the alderman. "The 7th day of July my good Lord of Winchester, Doctor White, came out of the Tower with the Lieutenant Sir Edward Warner by six in the morning; and so to my lord Keeper of the Broad Seal, and from thence unto Master White, John, Alderman; and there he lies."[3] In quoting this from Machyn,

[1] *Venetian Calendar*, June 27, 1559.
[2] *Diary*, p. 201. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 203.

Strype adds the significant remark: "*for he was not well.*"[1]

There can, indeed, be little doubt that the fatal ague, of which the holy Bishop not long after died (though not till after he had been a second time imprisoned), was contracted by him in the damp cells of the Tower.

The next to undergo the penalty of deprivation for their refusal of the oath were the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Ely.

Sander relates in his Report that when, before leaving England, "the Count de Feria had visited the Archbishop not yet placed in confinement, and had asked him what must be done in such a condition of affairs, his answer was: 'Do nothing but suffer whatever God shall will.' Thus," remarks Sander, "did it befit this glorious Confessor to be merry even under persecutions!"

The deposition of these two influential Prelates had been deferred awhile, as we have seen, in hopes of their conforming; and Bishop Quadra says that, though the Bishop of Ely had at first been summoned with the others on June 26, "they had afterwards sent to say that he need not come until they sent for him again."[2] The delay, however, did but bring out more clearly the holy Bishop's constancy.

Machyn, who was not always exact as to his dates, notes their deposition as follows: "The 5th day of July was deposed of their Bishoprics the Archbishop of York, Dr Heath, and the Bishop of Ely, Dr Thirlby, at my lord Treasurer's place at Augustine Friars."[3]

The true date is shown, however, by the following letters, to have been July 7; for De Noailles, writing to the French king on July 9, says: "Only two days ago they have deprived the Archbishop of York, who was Chancellor in the time of the said Queen Mary, together with the Bishop of Ely, [the Bishop] of Winchester, and others

[1] *Annals of the Reformation*, vol. i., p. 143 (ed. 1709).
[2] *Spanish Calendar*, June 27, 1559.
[3] *Diary*, p. 203.

of their Bishops, and I believe that the said Ely is to suffer still further.[1]

Also Bishop Quadra, in a letter written on Wednesday, July the 12th, says: "They deprived the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Ely *last Friday* [July 7]. He of Ely had words with Bacon, and told him that if the Queen continued, as she had begun, to be ruled by those about her, both she and her kingdom would be ruined."[2]

Meanwhile, at the very time that these noble confessors of the faith were cheerfully making the sacrifice, for conscience' sake, of dignity, wealth, and position, to say nothing of their liberty (the loss of which they well understood would follow), the unhappy Bishop of Llandaff, who ten days before had withstood, as we have seen, the insults and threats of the Council, and had allowed himself to be deprived together with his brethren, was now weakly yielding to the pressure brought to bear upon him. His defection is thus spoken of by Quadra on July the 12th:—

"I understand that the Bishop of Llandaff, who is a greedy old man with little learning, is wavering, and it is feared he may take the oath, as he is wearing a Bishop's garb again lately. I had news of this, and sent to visit him and console him as well as I could, but he has given way notwithstanding. The rest of them are firm, each in the place appointed for him, and they hope more than ever in your Majesty."[3]

Whether Kitchin actually took the oath himself or not, appears uncertain; but the deplorable extent to which he "gave way" in the end, is proved by the declaration which he signed on the 18th of July in that same year, and which is preserved at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. In this he declares: "I shall for my power, cunning, and ability, set forth in mine own person, and cause all other under my jurisdiction to accept and obey the whole course of religion now approved in the state of

[1] R. O. Baschet's transcripts, July 9, 1559.
[2] *Spanish Calendar*, July 12, 1559. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

her Grace's realm, and shall also require the said oath of others receiving office."[1]

Sander, who seems hardly to have been aware of the full extent to which Kitchin had yielded, gives the following account of his fall in the unpublished portion of his *History*. "Having summoned him before them without putting any questions to him, they handed to him the book they had drawn up, in which the ecclesiastical services were arranged in the new way, and told him that he was now free to go away to his own church. He, being a man of little judgment and timid nature, as also advanced in years, having expected that he was going to be deposed from his position, and thinking that consent to heresy was usually only given in words, went away to his church of Llandaff in a doubtful state of mind, and there allowed the schismatical services to be openly performed, whilst secretly in his own house he assisted at the sacrifice of the Mass."[2]

The unhappy man's apostasy failed to secure him even the esteem of those to gain whose favour he had sacrificed his faith; and Camden himself describes Bishop Kitchin as "the calamity of his See." He died on October 31,

[1] Printed in full by Canon Escourt (*Anglican Ordinations*, p. 93), and collated by Father Bridgett (*Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 30) with MS. C.C.C.C., N. 114, p. 155.

[2] From Father Stevenson's transcript, fol. 128. Both here and in his Report to Cardinal Morone, Sander says that Kitchin, who had been appointed to the See of Llandaff schismatically by Henry VIII. never under Mary, asked for confirmation from the Holy See. Canon Estcourt, however (p. xlii., App. XV.) publishes the dispensation which was granted him by Cardinal Pole, "*ratione indebitæ detentionis Ecclesiæ Landafensis*"; from which it seems that Sander was mistaken, though it may be that Kitchin was later than the others in requesting absolution. On the strength of this mistaken supposition, Sander remarks in his Report that, being "the only one who had not asked for confirmation from the Apostolic See, it is no wonder, if he yields to schism and *consecrates* (consecret) pseudo-bishops outside the Church." However, since Kitchin was still living at the time that this was written, it does not seem to follow from it (as Father Bridgett thought) that Sander believed him to have as yet actually consecrated any pseudo-bishops.

1563, without—as far as is known—having been reconciled to the Church.

From a letter of Bishop Quadra's, written on the following 13th of August, we learn that two more Bishops had been deposed a few days before. "They have deprived," he there informs the King, "the Bishops of St David's and Exeter this week."[1]

Of these two Prelates, we have seen already that the Bishop of St David's had been hindered from attending Parliament by the illness of which he died soon after. Whether, at the time the oath was offered to him, he was in his own diocese, or with the relatives near Oxford in whose house he expired, we are not told.

Bishop Turberville, of whom little has as yet been said, had made his studies at Winchester and New College, Oxford, and at the time of his appointment to the See of Exeter in 1555, was a Prebendary of Winchester Cathedral. But little is recorded of his previous history, excepting that he belonged to a distinguished family of Bere Regis in Dorset; and that he had taken his degree of Doctor of Divinity at one of the foreign universities,[2] whither he had gone, it may be, to avoid the schism then reigning in England. In the parliamentary divisions under Elizabeth his name appears amongst those of the opponents of the irreligious measures of the Government, and he is named by Foxe amongst those present in Westminster Abbey at the Conference, although he does not seem to have taken in it any active part. As to what passed at his deprivation, no particulars have reached us.

The Bishop of St Asaph, who had escaped abroad in the last days of June, had been declared deprived of his

[1] *Spanish Calendar*, 1559, p. 89. The precise date of this letter is given by the editor as uncertain. It is printed as "*July* 13," which internal evidence shows to be impossible. The day of the two Bishops' deprivation is shown by Dr Gee to have been August the 10th, from an allusion to it in a letter of Young, first Protestant Bishop of St David's (*Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 37).

[2] Hutchin's *History of Dorset*, vol. i., pp. 138, 159. Dodd's *Church History of England*, vol. i., p. 482, ed. 1737.

See on July the 15th[1]; and there now only remained to be dealt with the three Bishops of Durham, Bath, and Peterborough, of whom the two last seem to have been still away from London, whilst the first had just arrived there from his distant Diocese on July the 20th.

Some of the men, who were to take possession of the Sees thus forcibly vacated, had already been appointed, but no consecrator for them had as yet been found; and on the 9th of September the Queen issued a commission in which she commanded the three last mentioned Bishops, along with Kitchin, Barlow, and Scory, to consecrate Parker, named by her to the Archbishopric of Canterbury.[2] "It is difficult now to understand," remarks Canon Estcourt, in relating this, "how anyone could expect that a commission would be executed which bore so gross an insult on the face of it. Not merely to require them to consecrate a married priest, notoriously suspected of heresy, but to join with them two suspended, excommunicated ecclesiastics, calling themselves Bishops, relapsed heretics, and apostate religious, was sufficient of itself to prevent the execution of the mandate."[3] Although we do not know in what form the refusal of the Prelates mentioned was conveyed, not even Kitchin could be persuaded to take part in so iniquitous a proceeding; and the deprivation of the three remaining Bishops was not long in following.

That of the venerable Tunstall took place on September the 28th, but it will be more convenient to tell the story of it when we speak of his holy end, which so quickly followed.

The Bishop of Bath had returned to his own Diocese, as we have seen, early in the spring; and there, on October the 18th, as we learn from Rymer, four Somersetshire Justices, "Humphrey Coles, John Horner of

[1] Tierney's *Dodd*, vol. ii., p. 138.

[2] The writ is given in full in Rymer's *Foedera*, vol. vi. Pars. IV., p. 84. It was addressed "Cuthberto Episcopo Dunelmensi, Gilberto Bathoniensi Episcopo, David Episcopo Burgi Sancti Petri, Antonio Landavensi Episcopo, Willielmo Barlo Episcopo, et Joanni Scory Episcopo."

[3] *Anglican Ordinations*, p. 85.

Cloford, Richard Warre, and William Hollye, Esquires," were especially commissioned to administer to him the oath.[1] This was, of course, refused by the holy Prelate, and he was in consequence deposed.

The deprivation of the Bishop of Peterborough, which had been deferred, Sander says in his Report, on account of his long-continued illness, must have taken place about the same time, since the spiritualities of his See were seized on November the 11th.[2]

Thus, by the beginning of November 1559, the deprivation of the whole Hierarchy had been effected.

In the case of Bishop Tunstall, we shall see that his imprisonment followed immediately upon his deprivation, and the same may perhaps have been so with some of the other Confessors. In the case of most of them, however, there seems to have been some interval between their deposition and their being placed in actual confinement; and Sander speaks of them in his unpublished History, after their deprivation, as "having been *gradually*, either cast into prison, or committed to the custody of certain persons."[3] For a time, indeed, the Queen and her ministers were probably themselves uncertain what to do, and they seem to have deferred their ultimate decision as to the disposal of the Prelates whom they had deprived, until the return in the autumn of the visitors who had been despatched in June throughout the country to enforce the introduction of the new religion in the provinces. We have seen how Quadra wrote, with reference to the Bishops deprived on June the 26th, that they were ordered "not to leave London until after September"; and we find him again writing on July the 12th: "The idea is that in September proceedings will be taken against many people."[4]

We shall see in the next chapter, how, in the autumn following, the Ecclesiastical Commission, especially

[1] *Foedera*, *ibid.*, p. 86.
[2] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 81.
[3] Fr. Stevenson's transcript, fol. 127.
[4] *Spanish Calendar*, July 12, 1559.

appointed to punish offenders against the new persecuting Acts, began to hold its sittings.

Meantime the position of the faithful Confessors must have been one of keen suffering and humiliation, apart from their anxiety as to the future. The effect of their unwarranted and unjust deposition by the Queen was, not only to strip them of their rightful rank and dignity, even the outward garb of which they could no longer wear; but to brand them as disloyal subjects under the displeasure of their sovereign, to whom they were now forced to give security for their good conduct.

Many of them also must have been brought into real poverty by the withdrawal of the revenues belonging to their Sees, to say nothing of the heavy fines imposed on some; and that this actually was the case we learn from the following letter of the Venetian ambassador at the court of Philip II. in Flanders, dated Ghent, August 5, 1559.

"We hear from those parts [England] that amongst all the Bishops there the only one who would take the form of oath which I sent to your Serenity, was the Bishop of Llandaff. With that sole exception, all the others, being deprived of their Sees, *are reduced to most abject poverty and distress*, being dependent on relations and friends for their maintenance. The two who were put in the Tower have been set at liberty, and placed in the same condition as the others."[1]

Although, moreover, the Bishops were not yet placed in actual confinement, it is evident that all real liberty was already taken from them, and in innumerable ways they were made to feel that they were prisoners. Thus, even in London itself, to which they were restricted, they were not left free to choose their own abode, but Il Schifanoya tells us that, on their deprivation, they "received orders where to dwell," and Bishop Quadra describes them as remaining *each in the place appointed to him.* The same ambassador writes also on August 18: "The Bishop of

[1] *Venetian Calendar*, August 5, 1559. Paulo Tiepolo . . . to the Doge and Senate.

Ely has sent to say that he *has asked for leave to come and see me sometimes, but they have refused him.*"[1]

In spite, however, of the restraints placed over them, it would seem that they sometimes succeeded in paying a stolen visit to the friendly ambassador, who was like themselves a Bishop. For, on September 2, Sir Thomas Challoner, the English envoy to King Philip, wrote from Antwerp urging Cecil to remove Bishop Quadra, then resident at Durham Place, to some other lodging, "where good espy may be had over his espies. . . . Our deposed Bishops, I understand, do visit him now and then."[2]

A letter written about this time, from the Spanish Court, to the Queen herself, by this same Sir Thomas Challoner, reveals the heartless irreligion both of Elizabeth and of the men to whose counsels she resigned herself. "The alteration of religion in England," wrote this envoy of hers on August 3, "they take for such a thing *as it only they hold sufficient to descant on;* and whatever other grudge they bear us, to pretend it alone for the whole."[3] Clearly, in the eyes of Challoner, and by implication in those also of Elizabeth, the merely having changed the *religion* of the country was a thing of quite too trivial importance to excite any sincere indignation!

A further bitter grief to the poor Bishops at this time must have been the frantic declamations of the wolves to whom their flocks were now abandoned, and to whom they themselves were hindered from replying. Machyn records the preaching of a sermon at St Paul's Cross, on September 17, by the fanatical Veron, who exclaimed: "Where are the Bishops and old preachers? Now they hide their heads!"[4] First to confine the Bishops, and make it death for them to speak, and then to taunt them with their non-appearance, was, indeed, as Fr. Bridgett remarks in a similar connection, "a device worthy of the Reformers!"

Thus did the slow martyrdom of our Bishops begin;

[1] *Spanish Calendar*, August 18, 1559.
[2] *Foreign Calendar*, September 2, 1559. Challoner to Cecil.
[3] *Ibid.*, August 3, 1559.
[4] *Diary*, p. 211.

and for once Jewel did but speak the truth in their regard, when he wrote on August 1, to Peter Martyr: "The Bishops, rather than abandon the Pope, . . . are willing to submit to everything!"

With his customary venom, however, he could not keep from adding: "not, however, that they do so for the sake of religion, of which they have none; but for the sake of consistency, which the miserable knaves now choose to call their conscience."[1]

History does not record many instances of men sacrificing high rank and dignity and riches, to end their days in prison, for the mere "sake of *consistency!*"

[1] *Zurich Letters*, 1st series, Ep. 16.

Note to Chapter VII.

It may perhaps be a surprise to some to find in the foregoing pages no reference to certain documents, which are quoted by Strype, in his *Annals*, from a book called *The Hunting of the Romish Fox*, published by Robert Ware in 1683. The documents in question pretend to be a speech made by Elizabeth on May 15, 1559—in answer to a request from the Bishops that she would "recollect her gracious sister's zeal unto the Holy See"; and the replies to letters from some of the Prelates, made by herself in December 1559, and by Parker in March 1560.

The fact is that all these documents are proved by Fr. Bridgett to have been *forged* by Robert Ware, as were many other pieces of like character, which figure in the pages of Strype and other writers. The same is shown by Fr. Bridgett with reference to the pretended discovery in 1559 (related by Strype from the same source), of a plot laid by Gardiner and Bonner against the Councillors of Edward VI. (See Fr. Bridgett's *Blunders and Forgeries*, 1891, pages 272-296.)

CHAPTER VIII

THE BISHOPS COMMITTED TO PRISON. AUTUMN OF 1559

WE have seen that, from the moment of their so-called deprivation by the civil power, the movements of the Bishops were so much restricted that they were already practically prisoners, though not yet shut in within four walls. We must now attempt to follow them into that real and actual imprisonment, to which the close of the same year 1559 saw them committed.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to trace the history of their imprisonment with the fulness we should wish, owing to the loss of the Privy Council's Acts (which fail us for three years together at this very point),[1] and of other records; and, knowing indeed, as we do, the anxiety of Cecil and his fellow-workers to create a false tradition on the subject, it is not easy to keep back the suspicion that the disappearance of these documents may not have been wholly accidental.

Enough, however, happily remains to reveal the truth, at all events, as to the main facts.

In order to set up through the country the new form of religion, which the Acts of Supremacy and of uniformity had decreed, royal visitors had been despatched in all directions in July, empowered to demand the subscription of the clergy to the provisions of those Acts. These visitors did not get back to London till near the end of

[1] The Acts of the Privy Council are wanting from May 12, 1559, to May 28, 1562, with frequent gaps also in the years that follow.

October, as we learn from a letter of Jewel, who was one of them, dated November the 2nd.[1]

Meantime a permanent body of nineteen Ecclesiastical Commissioners had been appointed, on July the 19th, empowered to punish offenders against the Acts by "fine, imprisonment, or otherwise." These Commissioners, however, did not begin to act as such until the autumn, most of them being engaged, at the time of their appointment, in carrying out the visitation in the provinces. On October the 20th fresh letters patent were issued to them, empowering them to deal with those who had not subscribed when called upon to do so by the visitors; and "*ordering*" them to administer the supremacy oath "*to all Archbishops, Bishops, and other ecclesiastical persons.*"[2]

The duties of these permanent Commissioners are thus summed up by Dr Gee. They were "to inquire into the working of the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity; to examine all seditious and heretical opinions and reports; to investigate all cases of disturbances of church services, and irregularities of ministers therein; to investigate and punish cases of wilful absence from church; to have full and universal ecclesiastical jurisdiction; to restore all clergy unjustly deprived; to determine all other moral or ecclesiastical offences." They were also to be "a kind of final court for the reference of causes . . . not determined by the visitation." Their ordinary place of sitting was "in London at the Consistory Court of St Paul's."[3]

At the head of this Commission of October 20, stood the names of Parker, Grindal, and Cox, nominated to the Sees of Canterbury, London, and Ely; and it is remarkable that, although, in the earlier writ of July 19, Parker and Grindal had been described merely as "*nominated Bishops*," in this second writ they were all three (without having meantime received any form of consecration), given the full titles of their Sees with no such

[1] *Zurich Letters*, 1st series, Ep. 19.

[2] The writs of July 19 and October 20, 1559, are given in full in Dr Henry Gee's *Elizabethan Clergy and the Settlement of Religion*, pp. 147, 152.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 139, 140.

limitation.[1] The rest of the Commissioners were mostly laymen; but, though it was declared that four out of the nineteen might constitute a quorum, it was expressly stipulated that, amongst the four, there must be always one or other of the three new made Bishops named above, who by their very position were the bitterest enemies of those into whose places they had been intruded.

Such, then, was the Ecclesiastical Commission, established in the autumn of 1559, which, with almost unlimited power of inflicting penalties, was thenceforth to hold at its disposal the persons of all those whose consciences forbade them to accept the new religion; and which was now directed to administer to "all Archbishops, Bishops, and other ecclesiastical persons," the impious and untrue oath, for their first refusal of which the Catholic Bishops had already been deprived. The Commissioners were, moreover, ordered to report to Chancery without delay the names of any of those above described, by whom the oath might be refused.[2]

The Commission seems to have lost no time in commencing operations, since on October the 23rd (three days after the issue of the second writ), we find Machyn recording in his *Diary*, the deposition of "Master Harpsfield, the Archdeacon of London, and divers prebendaries and vicars," upon whom, he had already noted, "the visitors sate at Paul's" on the previous August the 11th.[3] This, therefore, had been one of the cases left undetermined by the recent visitation.

As to the acts of the Commission, Dr Gee tells us that "after a protracted search in the Public Records, the British Museum, and the Lambeth Library," he "failed to trace any official record drawn up by the Registrar, or to find the returns certified into the Exchequer."[4] It only

[1] In the first Commission Cox had not been included. Can it be that, at the time the second writ was issued, the Government had determined to dispense with any consecration; Tunstall, Poole, and Bourne having refused to obey the order of September 9, addressed to them for Parker's consecration?

[2] Dr Gee, p. 153.

[3] *Diary*, pp. 206, 216.

[4] *Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 140.

remains for us, therefore, to trace its action with reference to the deprived Bishops, as best we can from other sources. In these, evidence enough can still be found—and especially with reference to the deposed Bishops—of the free use, which was made at once by the Commissioners, of their power to *imprison* all recalcitrants.

We have seen that, at the time of their deprivation, the deposed Prelates were fixed to certain localities in London, but that the ultimate decision as to their disposal was deferred to the autumn. The writ of October 20, with its special injunction to administer the oath to all Archbishops and Bishops, clearly shows that the disposal of these holy Confessors was one of the first things which the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were expected to take in hand.

Dr Gee, who tries throughout his book to keep his eyes fast closed with reference to all that tells of the persecution suffered by the Bishops—admits indeed that "it is very likely that some of the Bishops were re-examined at this time"; but declares that "there is no satisfactory evidence that any of the deprived Bishops were under special surveillance during the winter of 1559 and the earlier months of 1560. *In custody or restraint*," he says, "*they certainly were not*."[1]

How untrue this is, the facts which we have now to relate, will show.

It is indeed quite true that our information as to the events of the last few months of 1559 is very scanty. The official records of the acts of the Commissioners, as well as of those of the Privy Council, have disappeared as we have seen; Il Schifanoya, who would no doubt have told us much, had left the country; and even Bishop Quadra's letters of that time (at all events those published in the *Spanish Calendar*) are occupied almost entirely with the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 144. The main thesis of Dr Gee's book is that: "The number of clergymen deprived for papal sympathies between 1558 and 1564 cannot have greatly exceeded 200." How entirely he fails to prove this, has been excellently shown by Dom. H. N. Birt., O.S.B., in the *Dublin Review* for January and April, 1900; also in the *Tablet* for December 17, 1898.

futile negotiations for the marriage of the Queen. Amongst these last, however, which have so little interest for us, the editor of the *Rolls Calendar* has thought fit to insert at least a brief summary of one letter, which gives us some slight inkling of the sore trials to which the new Ecclesiastical Commission was then putting the poor persecuted Catholics. In the Calendar for November the 12th—namely, just after the Commission had commenced its work—we find the following tantalisingly brief epitome of a letter written by Bishop Quadra to the Duke of Alba: "Surprised at the steadfastness of the Catholics. Disturbances were expected, as they were really driven to desperation."[1] The date of this letter just corresponds, as we shall see, to the time when the imprisonment of most of the Bishops must have been taking place.

In another letter, written some months later, but before the general committal of the Bishops to the Tower—we find Quadra expressing to Bishop (afterwards Cardinal) Granvelle of Arras his astonishment that there had been no insurrection, "especially *now that they have imprisoned all the Catholic Bishops.*"[2] Thus, although we know but little of the circumstances, we have sufficient to assure us of the fact that the establishment of the Ecclesiastical Commission was followed by a general imprisonment of the Bishops. Moreover, that they were thus put into prison before the end of the year 1559, is made certain by the sworn testimony of eye-witnesses, who deposed to the imprisonment, amongst the rest, of two Bishops who died, the one in the November, the other in the December, of that very year.

It is well known that the solemn excommunication of Queen Elizabeth, in 1570, by Pope St Pius V. was preceded at Rome by a formal Process, in the course of

[1] *Spanish Calendar*, November 12, 1559.

[2] "Especialmente agora que han prendido a todos los obispos Catholicos." Bishop of Aquila to the Bishop of Arras, May 23, 1560. (*Collection de Chroniques Belges inédites; Relations Politiques des Pays-Bas et de L'Angleterre, sous le Règne de Philippe II.*, tome ii.; *Regence de la Duchesse de Parme*, p. 421.) This letter of Bishop Quadra's is not printed in the Rolls Office Calendar.

which a number of the English exiles were examined with reference to the charges laid against her. The depositions of some of these witnesses may be read in the continuation of Baronius's *Annals*, published in 1728 by the Oratorian Father Laderchi,[1] whose own transcript of them, taken from the Acts of the Process in their original Italian, is also preserved at Rome.[2]

In this Process, the Queen's deprivation and imprisonment of the Bishops naturally figured largely amongst the charges on which evidence was taken; and the depositions of two witnesses in particular—those namely of Daniel, Dean of Hereford, and Henshaw, Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford—are of especial value, as enabling us to determine, not merely the fact, but also the time, of the Bishops' imprisonment.

Of the Dean of Hereford, who under Queen Mary had been also sub-dean of the Royal Chapel, we have already heard something in connection with Elizabeth's attempt to hinder Bishop Oglethorpe from elevating the sacred Host. He himself relates, in the Process, how he had been deprived of his deanery for his refusal of the oath, and for a time had been "imprisoned in the house of a certain nobleman," whom, from a list of "Recusants," signed in 1562 by Grindal and other Commissioners, we learn to have been the Marquis of Winchester, the Lord Treasurer.[3]

As to the deprivation of the Bishops, Dean Daniel declared that he was himself in London at the time, and that he had spoken with some of them after their deprivation. "Being asked, whether he knew of any Bishops, or other ecclesiastics, having been *imprisoned* in her name, or by her orders," he replied: "I have seen and spoken to many ecclesiastics and priests detained in prison by

[1] *Annales Ecclesiastici*, t. xxxvii., pp. 153-162, ed. 1883.

[2] A copy of Laderchi's transcript of the depositions, in which the *names* are given more correctly than in the printed *Annals*, has been most kindly lent to the present writer, by Father J. H. Pollen, S.J.

[3] Dr Gee (p. 179) prints this list of Recusants from *S. P. Dom. Eliz. Addenda XI.* 45. In it occurs—"Edmund Daniel, late Dean of Hereford, to remain with the Lord Treasurer, or within twelve miles compass of his house, where he maketh his abode."

commission of the aforesaid Queen for having refused to take the oath. I know moreover that many Bishops were imprisoned on the same account; but I was not able to speak to them, when they were in prison, because they would not let me go into the place where they were. . . . The imprisoned Bishops were the following: those of Ely, Lincoln, Chester, Worcester, Winchester, Carlisle, Lichfield, London, and others whose names I do not remember."

This deposition was made by Dean Daniel, Laderchi tells us, on February the 7th, 1570. That he was referring, however, to the condition in which the Bishops already had been placed as early as the latter part of 1559, is certain from his naming amongst the imprisoned Prelates the two Bishops of Lichfield and Carlisle, who both died within that year—the one on November the 18th, the other on December the 31st.

On the same day Henry Henshaw, the exiled Rector of Lincoln College, also gave evidence to the same effect; though in one respect with even greater force, inasmuch as he had found the means of actually holding converse with some of the imprisoned Bishops, amongst whom he also names those of Lichfield and Carlisle, as well as some others not mentioned by Daniel.

When questioned as to his knowledge of the deprivation and subsequent imprisonment, by authority and commission from the Queen, of Bishops and other ecclesiastics—after instancing himself, as having been amongst the number of these deprived ecclesiastics, along with thirteen other heads of Colleges—he went on to say: "I also know that many Bishops were deprived—those, namely, of York, London, Lincoln, Bath, Lichfield, Ely, Worcester, Carlisle, Exeter (?),[1] and Peterborough; and with many of these I conversed after they were deprived, and learnt from themselves that they had been deprived. I myself also saw them ejected and no longer in possession of their Bishoprics. It was moreover held and said to be a certain fact that the Queen had deprived them. *I also*

[1] In Laderchi's MS. *Estistrensis*, in the printed Annals *Estristensem*. It seems uncertain whether this is meant for Exeter, or Chester.

saw these Bishops above named (Peterborough alone excepted) in prison, and with some of them, whilst actually in prison, I conversed." [1]

If the above rendering of the names mentioned by Henshaw be correct (and there is no room to doubt it, unless in regard to one), the only Bishop left unnamed either by him, or Daniel, is the Bishop of Durham, of whose imprisonment in the autumn of 1559 we have abundant proof elsewhere. Apart from his mention of the Bishops of Lichfield and Carlisle, which proves him to have been speaking of the latter part of 1559, Henshaw's sight even of the other Bishops in their prisons cannot have occurred later than the first part of the following year, since on the 3rd of July 1560, he was himself committed a prisoner to the Fleet, as is shown by a list, still preserved, "of all the Bishops, Doctors, and Priests, that were prisoners in the Fleet for Religion since the first year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth." In this he is entered as, "Priste, Mr Henshoe, 3 Julii, 1560." [2] When asked, during the Process of 1570, the reason of his having come to Rome, he answered: "When I saw that I could not live as a Catholic and a good Christian, I left that country (England), and passed over to Flanders perhaps about eight years ago." [3] How he had escaped from the Fleet we are not told; but in the list of Recusants already mentioned, drawn up in 1562, "Henry Henshawe, late Rector of Lincoln College in Oxford," is named amongst some who "are fled, as is reported, over the seas." [4]

The sworn testimonies, therefore, of these witnesses, at the Process of 1570, establish beyond the reach of question the fact that there took place, towards the end of 1559, a general imprisonment of the deprived Bishops; and, in exact agreement with their statements, we find the Catholic

[1] "Et ho visti ancora questi vescovi sudetti carcerati, eccetto uno Perterbucien, et con alcuni ho parlato, mentre stavano prigione." (Laderchi's MS.)

[2] Harleian MS., 360, f. 7.

[3] "Che puo essere da otto anni in circa." (Laderchi's MS.)

[4] Dr Gee, p. 185.

writers of the time itself dating the imprisonment of the Bishops from the autumn of that year. Thus, in a book written near to the end of 1565, we find Dorman, in proof of the patience of the Bishops, appealing to *these six years passed over in durance* by them.[1]

In like manner, in the beginning of 1568, Harding met, as follows, the assertion made by Jewel that Mary, Queen of Scots, then imprisoned in Lochleven Castle, was "still in quiet possession of her estate."

"And what will you stick to say, or write, Mr Jewel, which do say, write, and set out in print such a palpable and manifest falsehood? . . . What? Will you make us believe that the Reverend Fathers, the old and only true Bishops of our country, are now still in quiet possession of their Bishoprics; whom all England knoweth to have sustained imprisonment *these eight years and more* for their constant profession (God's holy Name be blessed!) of God's truth? Go, Mr Jewel, and tell this tale in the new found islands of India!"[2]

Dorman's "six years," and Harding's "eight years and more," necessitate the commencement of the Bishops' imprisonment in the autumn of 1559.[3]

It is the more necessary here, however, to lay stress upon this fact, because it is one of which modern writers have well-nigh universally lost sight; almost all of them representing the Bishops' imprisonment as having commenced with their committal to the Tower towards the middle of the year 1560. When that event took place, four of the Bishops had been already dead some months;

[1] Disproof of Nowell's Reproof, fol. 17 (on the title-page) "Antwerp, Anno Domini, 1565, 3 Decembris."

[2] A Detection of . . . Errors, Lies, etc., uttered by Mr Jewel. Lovanii, 1568, fol. 87. The Censor's approbation is dated "Lovanii 21 Maii, an. 1568." The book itself must therefore have been written nearer to the beginning of the year.

[3] In exact agreement with these words of Dorman and Harding are those of Cardinal Allen, who, in his *Apology for the Seminaries*, published in the middle of 1581, speaks of "those glorious Confessors, our true fathers, pastors, and masters, that have by their sacred persons sanctified your prisons by *two and twenty years durance*," (fol. 105).

yet we shall find Sander and all the Catholic writers of the time, speaking of these four as having died *in prison*, and proclaiming them in consequence true Martyrs; whilst we have just seen that the imprisonment, at all events, of two of them was sworn to in 1570.

If it be asked, in what place the Bishops were confined during these first months of their imprisonment; it is clear, from what Sander says in his Report to Cardinal Morone, that in most cases, at all events they were committed to the custody of the dignitaries of the new Establishment, three of whom we have seen had been placed on the Ecclesiastical Commission.

We cannot, indeed, pretend to show exactly how the deprived Prelates were each one of them disposed of. But we know at all events that the Bishop of Durham—regardless of his venerable age—was imprisoned in Parker's house at Lambeth, where also the Bishop of Ely was confined. Similarly at least two of the Bishops, whose deaths will be related in next chapter, will be shown to have been given into Grindal's custody; and in speaking, in his Report, of the Archbishop of York, Sander says that, "after being deprived, he was for a year and a few months at one time left free, at another dragged back into prison";[1] and, what this *prison* was, he explains further on by saying that "the Catholics *are usually given into the keeping of the pseudo-bishops;*" which the Archbishop thought "worse than being committed to the Tower."

To understand the feelings of the venerable Confessors at finding themselves thus put at the mercy of Elizabeth's new-made usurping "Bishops," instead of judging of these latter from what we know of their present kindly successors, we must view them as described by Cardinal Allen; who, in complaining of the "violence unnaturally done" by the persecutors "to their own spiritual rulers," did not hesitate to accuse them of having "intruded into their places a sort of greedy wolves, unordered Apostates, amorous and godless companions, the very filth and charnel of the realm; who, for hatred of the Catholic

[1] "*Modo libere dimissus, modo in vincula retractus.*"

faith from which they are renegades, and through . . . emulation of the true Bishops, whose rooms by secular force they have unjustly invaded, and do detain, bear such unquenchable malice to the true anointed clergy and to their obedient followers, that they cease not to incite the powers of the realm against us; and exercise themselves, under the pretensed title of their usurped dignities and other temporal commissions, the greatest tyranny and cruelty in the world; standing in fear of their state, so long as they see any true Bishop or Catholic man alive."[1]

Such were the men, who had now become the judges and the jailers of the Catholic Bishops into whose Sees they had been intruded; and the treatment, which the poor deprived Prelates had to look for from them, may be gathered from the sermon which, at the opening of Parliament, had been preached by Cox—now one of the three Episcopal Commissioners, in which he had told the Queen that: "for that purpose God had placed her on the throne, and given her the sword, that she might avenge the blood of His saints, and *extirpate the impious priests of Rome*."[2] A letter too exists, which Cox and Grindal—another Episcopal Commissioner—had joined together in addressing to the Council, in which they suggest that a poor priest, who had been brought before them for saying Mass, "might be put to some kind of *torment*, and so driven to confess what he knoweth"; blasphemously adding: "He might gain the Queen's Majesty a good mass of money by masses that he hath said."[3]

No wonder that the Archbishop of York preferred to be sent to the Tower, rather than be entrusted to the keeping of such jailers!

Lest the above account of the first Protestant Bishops should be thought the result, either of prejudice or

[1] *True, Sincere, and Modest Defence of English Catholics*, 1884, p. 41.

[2] White, *Lives of the Elizabethan Bishops of the Anglican Church*, p. 82.

[3] Hist. MSS. Com. MSS. of Marquis of Salisbury, Part I., p. 269. "Bishops of London and Ely to Privy Council, Sept. 13, 1562."

exaggeration, it will be useful here to set before the reader the conclusion come to by an entirely independent witness, Mr Hubert Hall of the Record Office, in his *Society in the Elizabethan Age*. In this work Mr Hall devotes a chapter to the Elizabethan "Churchman," in which we find the following estimate of the then newly established Bishops, drawn from his careful study of papers of the time itself. After drawing a dismal picture of the demoralisation then prevailing, he says:

"The state of society was the worst that had ever before been in the land. And where, all this time, was the influence of the Church at work? There was no pretence even of such an influence. The Bishops were mostly starveling pedants, creatures of a court faction, whose fingers itched after filthy lucre; or else good, plodding, domesticated men, with quiverfuls to provide for; graziers or land-jobbers who had mistaken their vocation. Narrow, harsh, grasping, servile, unjust, they were despised as much by their masters as they were hated by their flocks. . . . In fact, there seems to have been a consensus of opinion unfavourable to the English Bishop. Denounced alike by Catholics, Anglicans, and Puritans, they existed only by the good will of the Crown or rather by its contemptuous toleration. Even well-meaning bigots like Parker and Whitgift appear in pleasant relief to theologians of the school of Aylmer and Cox—except for purposes of religious or political partisanship."[1]

When to the deposed Bishops we add the crowd of Deans, Archdeacons, and other lesser dignitaries, who had also been deprived, it is easy to see that the disposal of so many prisoners must have been a matter of considerable difficulty; especially as, at the time we speak of, few only of the new intruding Bishops had been yet appointed. It seems certain, therefore, that at first, at all events, large numbers of them must have been confined together; and we have seen that Henshaw, who was himself a prisoner,

[1] *Society in the Elizabethan Age*, by Hubert Hall, F.S.A., of H.M. Public Record Office, 1902, p. 105 and p. 170.

swore to having seen no less than nine of the Bishops whilst they actually were imprisoned; though perhaps his sight of some of these may have only been upon occasion of their being brought out before the Commissioners.

It has been already stated that these latter usually sat in the Consistory Court adjoining the old St Paul's, and here it must have been that the Bishops were made to appear before them in the autumn of 1559.

Adjoining the same place, at the north-west corner of St Paul's, stood the Bishop of London's ordinary residence, in which Grindal—one of the Commissioners, and at first apparently chief jailer of the Bishops—had already been established.

The Bishop of London's palace, which perished together with the old cathedral in the great fire of 1666, is described by Stowe, as "a large thing for receipt, wherein divers kings have lodged."[1]

This same palace contained cells, however, in which (at all events some years later) Grindal used to keep his Catholic prisoners, whilst others were lodged in the Dean's house adjoining. With reference to one of these we find Grindal writing on August the 15th, 1569: "The prison sickness reigns usually at this time of the year. Milerus, the Irishman in my custody, is very sick of an ague."[2]

In one or other of these buildings round the old St Paul's, most of the imprisoned Confessors seen by Henshaw appear at this time to have been confined; at least two of the Bishops, whose deaths are next to be related, having been there lodged with Grindal.

[1] *Survey of London*, p. 412, ed. 1633.

[2] See Strype, *Life of Grindal*, pp. 138-140; and *Grindal's Remains*, p. 307.

CHAPTER IX

DEATH IN PRISON OF BISHOPS RALPH BAYNE OF LICHFIELD, OWEN OGLETHORPE OF CARLISLE, AND JOHN WHITE OF WINCHESTER

In order not to interrupt our narrative, it will be convenient here to conclude the story of the sufferings of the three Bishops named in the heading of this chapter, although the deaths of at least two of them, and perhaps even of all three, did not take place till after that of Bishop Tunstall of Durham, whose history must necessarily be related separately, since the circumstances of his sufferings and death for the faith were distinct. The precise day of the Bishop of Lichfield's death seems not to be quite certain, though it is placed by writers on the same day as that of Bishop Tunstall.

The three Bishops of Lichfield, Carlisle, and Winchester had been, it will be remembered, amongst the first to be deprived; and we have already seen how much they had been made to suffer for their championship of the faith at Westminster. We have seen, too, that the imprisonment of all three, for their subsequent refusal of the oath, was sworn to at Rome by one, or other, of the witnesses in 1570. Moreover, in a Report of the vacant English Bishoprics, which was presented to the Holy See about the middle of the year 1561, these same three Bishops are found all named together, as "*having died in prison.*"[1]

[1] "*Mortui sunt in carcere Coventriensis* [*i.e.*, Lichfield and Coventry], *Vintoniensis, et Carliolensis.*" (Vat. Arch. 64, t. 28, fol. 381, transcribed by Father Stevenson, S.J.) The Report, from which this

We will here speak of them in the order in which their deaths occurred.

Bishop Bayne of Lichfield.

By his reputation, as a Biblical and Hebrew scholar, Bayne had brought honour to the University of Cambridge, in which he had made his studies; and in an account of him (not intended altogether to be unsympathetic), a Protestant historian of that University thus makes mention of his end: "When Elizabeth came to the throne he was deprived, *and for some time imprisoned*, having shown himself during his ecclesiastical administration (according to Fuller), 'though better than Bonner,' yet 'as bad as Christopherson.' He died 1559, and was buried according to one account, at Islington; as others say at St Dunstan's, Fleet Street."[1]

That by a writer, such as Fuller,[2] Bishop Bayne should have been compared to Prelates such as Bishops Bonner and Christopherson, is but a tribute to his zeal for the Catholic faith. But it is worth while to note that, in the above passage from the History of Cambridge, we have the confirmation by a Protestant writer of the fact of Bishop Bayne's *imprisonment*, which, as we have seen, was asserted from the first by Catholic authorities.

The place in which he was confined is unwittingly revealed to us by one, who fain would have his readers think the Confessor was entertained there as a guest. For Strype, in quoting from Machyn's *Diary* the notice which he there found of the Bishop's burial, himself inserts the remark that "he died of the stone, having lived *with the Bishop of London*"[3]; that is to say, with Grindal.

It is scarcely needful to remark that on no other terms

is taken, was printed by Dr Maziere Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, vol. ii., p. 322.

[1] *History of the University of Cambridge, its Colleges, Halls, and Public Buildings*, in two volumes, 1815, vol. ii., p. 104.

[2] Fuller says that Bayne's "greatest commendation is that, though as bad a Bishop as Christopherson, he was better than Bonner" (*Worthies of England*, vol. iii., p. 410, ed. 1840).

[3] *Annals*, vol. i., p. 145, ed. 1709.

than, *as his prisoner*, can the deprived Prelate have lived in the Protestant Bishop's house; and we have just seen from Sander that it was in the houses of the new-made Bishops the Catholics usually were detained.

It is true that Strype does not name the source from which he had got his information; but he is known to have had access to many official documents, and in this matter he had no motive for deceiving. Moreover, all the circumstances, as far as we can learn them, tend to confirm his statement as to the place in which the Bishop was detained.

Whatever may have been the exact day of the death of Bishop Bayne, we know that his funeral took place on November the 24th. Thus his imprisonment must have quickly followed the opening of the Ecclesiastical Commission; which, armed, as we have seen, with special powers to readminister the oath to all Archbishops, Bishops, etc., and with Grindal for one of its most active members, had begun its sittings at St Paul's (close to Grindal's residence), about October the 23rd.

We have read the description given by Il Schifanoya of the way in which the Bishop of Lichfield and the others deprived along with him, in the previous June, had come away "from the presence of the Council rejoicing, bearing everything patiently for the love of Christ."

In the same way, in his Report to Morone, Sander, in speaking in particular of Bishop Bayne, says that "he was of such constancy of mind in this persecution, that he always went with joy to any questioning, and returned still happier." In writing this, Sander had perhaps in mind the continual and enforced appearances of the Holy Confessor before the Council, after the Conference at Westminster.

It must have been impossible, however, either for himself or for his fellow-defendants at that Conference, to have been insensible to the humiliation which was put upon them in being committed to the keeping of a jailer such as Grindal; who, not only had there been one of their actual opponents, but who was himself an apostate priest,

of whose railings against "the impious superstition of the Papists," and "the accursed abomination of the Mass" (which he himself had offered in his younger days), specimens are preserved to us in the *Zurich Letters*.[1]

But these sufferings were only one portion of the martyrdom by which the Bishop of Lichfield was to win his crown. We have seen it already stated that he died of that most painful malady, the stone; and Dodd adds, what we can readily believe, that the agony he suffered from it "was increased by his confinement."[2]

The following is the touching account, written by Sander less than two years afterwards, of the Holy Bishop's patience under all these sufferings, and of the heavenly intimation which was sent him to prepare him for them:—

"Having been deposed and sent away on bail," he says in his Report, "he was sitting both sick and sorrowful in his chair, when he heard a voice saying to him: 'Be of good courage, for thou shalt suffer martyrdom!' He is said by persons worthy of all credit to have related this occurrence himself while still alive, but without saying what kind of martyrdom it was about to be. But it was thus. He suffered such excruciating torment from the stone for six days that, to the bystanders, among whom were the Bishop of Chester and the Dean of St Paul's, the pain seemed quite unbearable: yet did he not complain, but lifting up his eyes at one time to heaven, and at another resting them on a crucifix, he invoked the name of Jesus, till the last moment when his blessed soul took its departure. Thus, to him, even torments were not wanting to justify his being ranked as in every sense a martyr."

Sander's meaning in making this last remark is explained by the letter of St Cyprian's, to which he had not long before referred, as justifying him in calling the Bishops who had died in prison, not merely Confessors, but *Martyrs*. For in this letter (as will be more fully

[1] *Zurich Letters*, 1st series, Ep. 81.

[2] *Church History*, *Lives of Bishops*, vol. i., p. 489.

shown in the last chapter), St Cyprian had directed that at Carthage all those who died for the faith in prison, even though they had not been actually put to the torture, were to be honoured as Martyrs; since "it was not they that had failed under the torments, but the torments that had failed them." In the case of Bishop Bayne, however, not even these had failed him, in consequence of his sufferings from the stone.

The veneration with which this holy Martyr-Bishop was regarded by his own contemporaries may be gathered from their language; for we find Harding referring to him, as "that learned and holy Bishop Bayne,"[1] whilst Pitts says that he "died an illustrious Confessor of the Lord."[2]

We have seen from Sander that in his agony he had at least the consolation of being attended by the Bishop of Chester and Dean Cole of St Paul's, who then were evidently confined in the same place; and from one or other of whom he no doubt received the last Sacraments. It was also doubtless from them that Sander obtained his account of his holy end.

The historian of Cambridge mentions two accounts as to the burial-place of Bishop Bayne; one of which represents him as having been buried at Islington (which in those days was entirely distinct from London); the other at St Dunstan's, Fleet Street, at no great distance from the old St Paul's, where we have seen he was confined. Whatever uncertainty there may have been as to this at one time, has been set entirely at rest by an examination of the Parish Register of St Dunstan's Church, in which has been found the following: "1559, November 24, Mr Doctor Banes buried."[3] The Bishop's burial there is, moreover, attested both by Machyn,[4] and by Stowe, who, in his *Survey of London*, says with reference to the Church of St Dunstan's in the West: "Ralph Bane, Bishop of

[1] Confutation of a book entitled *Apology of the Church of England*, 1565, fol. 348.

[2] *De Illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus*, p. 759.

[3] Quoted by Mr Nichols, the editor of Machyn's *Diary*, p. 378; and verified for the present writer by Mr R. Raikes Bromage.

[4] *Diary*, p. 221.

Coventry and Lichfield, 1559, and other lie there buried."[1] Finally, his death and burial, not at Islington, but at London, were thus mentioned in 1601 by Godwin: "Ralph Bane . . . having been Bishop almost five years, . . . died of the stone at London, and was buried in St Dunstan's Church there."[2]

His mistakenly asserted death and burial at Islington, rest solely on a little *History of Lichfield* written by William Whitlock (one of the first Protestant Canons of that church appointed by Elizabeth), which Wharton incorporated in his *Anglia Sacra* in 1691. In this *History*, in contradiction to all the above authorities, Whitlock says of Bishop Bayne: "Dying at Islington, near London, he was buried in the same place."[3]

The *time* of the holy Bishop's death is shown, at all events approximately, by the register of his burial upon November the 24th. The first mention of November the 18th, as the day of his departure, seems to be given—though without any expressed authority—in a note appended by the editor to the folio edition of Godwin's *De Præsulibus*, brought out in 1743.[4] If this, however, be correct, the deaths of Bishops Bayne and Tunstall occurred on one same day.

When Sander drew up his Report to Cardinal Morone in 1561, the Bishop of Durham and the three others whose deaths are related in this chapter, were the only ones of the imprisoned Bishops, who had as yet actually yielded up their lives.

Of these four Bishops, Sander speaks separately from the others, who were still living when he wrote; regarding them according to St Cyprian's rule, "not simply as Confessors *but as Martyrs*." In his accounts of each of these four, moreover, he gave vent to his feelings of devotion to them, in Latin verses, which he appended by way of Epitaphs.

In the following, which stand at the end of his account of Bishop Bayne, he expresses his assurance that the holy

[1] *Survey of London*, p. 431. Begun by Stowe in 1598.
[2] *Catalogue of the Bishops of England*, 1601, p. 266.
[3] *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i., p. 458. [4] p. 325, note.

Prelate has already entered into his reward, and his confidence in the power of his prayers.

Epitaphium.

Quo te Baine, Pater, confers? Num quæris Jesum?
At vivo præsens hic tibi semper erat.
Hic nisi tentato solatia magna tulisset,
Per te quî poteras vincere tanta mala?
At neque vicissem, dices, nisi mortuus essem;
Qui vivit, nescit, victor an esse queat.
Jam tandem sensi, sequeris tu victor Jesum,
Nec nisi qui certat, victor abire potest.
Ergo ubi te quæram novi: suspiria sume
Nostra, precesque Deo funde, benigne Pater!

Bishop Oglethorpe of Carlisle.

Of this Bishop, Sander writes in his Report, that, "having been deprived of his episcopal dignity, and cast into prison, on account of his confession of the faith, he testified to all the grief of his soul for having crowned the Queen, which was so great that many thought the day of his blessed death was hastened by it."

Certain though we are, from this and from the other authorities already quoted, as to the fact of Bishop Oglethorpe's imprisonment, we unfortunately know but little as to the circumstances of his last sufferings and death.

There seems, however, to be no doubt that the *place*, at all events, of his confinement was the same as that of Bishop Bayne.

At that time, few only of the newly-made Protestant Bishops had as yet obtained possession of their Sees; and most of the deprived Prelates—with the exception of the two who had been given into Parker's keeping—appear to have been placed for the moment under Grindal's custody, in one or other of the buildings round St Paul's.

Moreover, the Bishop of Carlisle, having by his defence of the faith at Westminster incurred the same displeasure of the Council as the Bishops of Lichfield and Chester,

appears at each stage of the proceedings to have been dealt with in the self-same way as they. Thus it was along with them that he had been made to appear day after day before the Council. With them he had been cited on May the 11th to hear the fine imposed upon him; and side by side with them, upon that memorable June the 26th, he had stood to listen to the sentence of his deposition. When, then, in the autumn, they were handed over into Grindal's keeping upon their second refusal of the oath, we may be sure that he also was sent there with them. This is confirmed still further by the fact that when six weeks after the death of Bishop Bayne, the Bishop of Carlisle also passed to his reward, his body was conveyed for burial to the same Church of St Dunstan's in the West, in which the Bishop of Lichfield had been laid. "Amabiles et decori in vita sua, in morte quoque non sunt divisi."

Later on, affected praises for his "dutifulness to the Queen's Majesty" in performing the office of her coronation, were bestowed on Bishop Oglethorpe, by Lord Burghley, in order that his readers might infer that, of course, no violence had been used by the Queen's Government upon one of so "courteous a nature!" The above brief summary of the holy Bishop's sufferings is enough to show how little the "dutifulness" of his conduct had been allowed to screen him from the persecution, in which, in reality, he was one of the very first to perish.

Andrewes, in his reply to Cardinal Bellarmine, was pleased to assert that Oglethorpe had died of apoplexy,[1] and many a writer has repeated his assertion. Sander and Cardinal Allen, on the other hand, speak, as we have seen, of his life having been shortened by the grief he felt at having crowned Elizabeth, when he saw the ruin she had brought to religion.

Whatever may have been the immediate occasion of his death (of which no precise account has reached us), it is, at anyrate, quite certain that long before the time of its occurrence, he was already suffering from grievous

[1] *Tortura Torti*, p. 146.

sickness; and that, too, as it would seem, at the actual time of his being placed in prison.

Fortunately, there is still preserved the will of Bishop Oglethorpe, made not quite two months before his death, and dated November the 10th, 1559;—in other words, about the very time that he and the other Bishops were being summoned before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

The opening words of it: "Sick of body, but whole of mind, . . . fearing mine own infirmity and sickness," etc. —at once betray the suffering condition in which he then already was; and that this had been his condition for some time, is shown by the legacy left by him—"to my right well-beloved James Good, of London, physician, in consideration of his great painstaking with me *in my extremes of sickness.*"[1]

In this we have clear proof of the cruelty with which this holy Confessor was also treated—thrust into prison, as he evidently was, like Bishop Bayne, with no regard to his infirmity. Moreover, when account is taken of the way in which, in those days, it was customary to deal with prisoners, nothing can, in itself, be judged more likely than that his death, which followed on the 31st of December, was really hastened (as Sander evidently thought it had been) by the sufferings of his confinement.

Bishop Oglethorpe's chief purpose in making his will was to secure, as far as might be possible, the establishment of a charitable institution, viz.: a grammar school and almshouses for twelve poor people, at Tadcaster, in Yorkshire, near to which he had himself been born. For the establishment of this good work (which he was endowing from his private property), he had obtained Queen Mary's sanction in the last year of her reign; but the building, even if begun, was still unfinished, and he was evidently very fearful that his original intentions would not now be carried out. To secure, however, if

[1] The Will has been copied for the present writer by Mr R. Raikes Bromage, from the P.C. Canterbury Registers (29 Mellershe).

possible, that they should be, he provided that the relatives, to whom he entrusted the execution of his wishes, should be responsible to four "supervisors" of his will,[1] of whom the first two were Justice William Rastell, the well known nephew of B. Thomas More, and "Cuthberde Scott, Doctor of Divinitie, late Bisshope of Chester," to the last of whom he bequeathed "a cuppe of silver worthe five poundes, or five poundes in monney, and the ringe with the diamond on my finger."

It is possible that, at the moment of the making of this will, Bishops Oglethorpe and Scott had not yet been placed in actual confinement (although they must have been so almost immediately after); but, in any case, we see, from the fact that Oglethorpe imagined to secure the execution of his wishes by naming one of his brother-deprived Bishops supervisor of his will, how confidently he, like others at the time, expected a return to the former state of things.

The hospital, or almshouses, was, according to his will, to have "a fair image of Christ standing upon the top of the door; and the same house erected, made, and finished, [was] to have the name and be called Christ's Hospital." In case it should be thought that his bequest of lands, etc., for this Institution should not "stand with the laws of this realm, so as the said lands . . . may not be to the uses in this . . . will and testament declared, . . . all the said lands," etc., were "to remain to his "brother William Oglethorpe."

It has been said already that, before his elevation to the Episcopate, Bishop Oglethorpe had been President of

[1] In the Will the Bishop says: "I, the said Owen, fearing mine infirmity and sickness, and minding, above all things, to have the said Grammar School and Hospital, or Almshouses, to proceed . . . will and charge my executors, . . . as they will answer me before God, to erect and build, etc. . . . And for the better surety and sure performance of this my last will . . . I will that my said executors . . . shall be bound . . . in sum of one thousand pounds to William Rastall, one of the justices of the Queen's Highness' Bench at Westminster, Cuthbert Scott, etc., . . . whom I make supervisors of this my last will and testament."

Magdalen College, Oxford; and there, in a list of the benefactors to be commemorated, has been preserved a record of his death, on December the 31st, 1559.[1]

The Bishop had left the place of his burial to be determined by his executors and servants, "or such of them as shall fortune to be with me at the hour of death."

His burial, on the 2nd of January, in St Dunstan's in the West, is attested by the Parish Register of that Church, which, for the January of 1559 (60), records, "Jan. 2, Doctor Eglethorpe, buride the seconde of Januarye."[2] Machyn also (though with his not unfrequent inaccuracy as to the day), has noted in his *Diary* that, on "the 4th [*sic*] day of January, was buried in St Dunstan's in the West, late Bishop of Carlisle, Doctor Hobbellthorpe [*sic*], with half-a-dozen scocheons of arms."[3] This means that the Bishop's funeral was conducted with the least possible display; the "scocheon" being, as Machyn's editor remarks, "the lowest description of heraldic ensign allotted for funerals. Mere gentlemen had no penon, but as many scocheons as were desired."[4]

Somewhere within the precincts of this Church of St Dunstan's, which stands in Fleet Street, just outside the area devastated by the great fire of 1666, must still rest the remains of these two of our holy Bishops, Ralph Bayne and Owen Oglethorpe, although no monument now marks their tombs. The funeral of neither of them can have been carried out with any Catholic ceremonial, this having then already been declared illegal by the Act of Uniformity.

Sander's Epitaph for the good Bishop of Carlisle contains a neat reference to his unfortunate act in having crowned the Queen; against which is set his brave refusal to omit at her bidding the elevation of the Sacred Host.

[1] Article on Oglethorpe in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[2] Copied by Mr R. R. Bromage.

[3] *Diary*, p. 221.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. xxxi.

Epitaphium.

Carleolum, quid agis? Dum das per schisma coronam, Perdes coronam gloriæ.
Si deflebo datam, possum, si mihi retulit idem, Recuperare perditam.
Corpus enim Christi qui vult extollere, Christus Hunc deprimi nunquam sinet.
Exemploque tuo felix, quem non pudet illi Cultum exhibere corpori.

That the fault of Oglethorpe in this respect (if fault it was), had in Sander's estimation been more than sufficiently atoned for, is shown by the fact that ten years later, in his *De Visibili*, he included him amongst the Bishops, "who for their confession of the Supremacy of the Apostolic See, had endured imprisonment even until death." There is no need here to repeat again the testimonies of other writers who have named him amongst Confessors and Martyrs.

Bishop White of Winchester.

We must now take up again the story of good Bishop White. We left him on July 7, at the house in London, of his namesake brother, Sir John White the alderman,[1] whither he had been taken from the Tower, already deprived of his bishopric, and broken down apparently in health. How long precisely he was suffered to remain there, we have no means of knowing.

Sander, however, in his Report, after mentioning his earlier confinement under Edward VI., says expressly that "he was *twice* cast into prison by Elizabeth."[2] The first of these imprisonments under Elizabeth was that, of course, of which we have already told the story, when he was sent to the Tower for his supposed contumacy at the Westminster Conference, before the Act of Supremacy had even yet been passed, and much more, therefore, before any attempt to administer the oath can have been made as yet.

[1] The Bishop and the Alderman, though brothers, both bore the Christian name of John. Other instances of the same thing are mentioned by the Editor of Machyn, p. 378.

[2] "In carcerem bis ab Elizabetha impositus."

But we have seen that, in the Roman Process of 1570, the Bishop of Winchester was named by the Dean of Hereford amongst those Bishops, whom he declared to have been put in prison *for their refusal of the oath.* It is clear then that, later on in the same year, Bishop White was again placed in prison at the same time as the other Bishops; and that this was the second imprisonment of which Sander spoke. Indeed, the special animosity shown by the Council to this brave upholder of the old religion is of itself enough to make us certain that he cannot have been left for long at peace; and he was probably one of the first to be summoned before the Ecclesiastical Commission in the autumn; and, on his fresh refusal of the oath, to be placed in confinement at St Paul's, together with the Bishops who had been his fellow-disputants at Westminster.

The Protestant historian Fuller, in the account which he gives of Bishop White, in his *Worthies of England*, says that, "having justly incurred the Queen's displeasure, this cost him deprivation and imprisonment, straiter than others of his order . . . until his death."[1]

The *straiter* imprisonment, to which Fuller here refers, was of course his close confinement in the Tower from April till July, from the effects of which he seems never to have recovered. "His health," writes Fr. Bridgett, "had been seriously affected in the unhealthy prison, and he suffered for the next six months from an ague, which carried him off on January 12, 1560."[2] This deadly ague he must then have had upon him, when again thrown into prison in the autumn.

Fuller was also quite right in saying that the Bishop of Winchester's imprisonment continued *until his death;* although death found him, at the moment, outside his actual prison cell, in "a certain place," as Sander tells us, to which he had been "relegated, bound by the engagements of those who had offered bail"; and where therefore he was still a prisoner.

[1] *Worthies of England*, vol. ii., p. 11, ed. 1840.
[2] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 68.

It was, however, a mistake on the part of Fuller (who in this was misled by Andrewes) to attribute the Bishop's imprisonment solely to Elizabeth's displeasure with his sermon at Queen Mary's funeral. For the Acts themselves of the Privy Council show that for his sermon he had not been put in prison, but had been only required to keep to his house;[1] whilst the same Acts of the Council and the evidence of the Dean of Hereford make it clear that (in spite of Andrewes' contrary assertion),[2] the real causes of his two imprisonments were the Westminster Conference and his refusal of the oath.

The following is the account which Sander gives in his Report of the end of this holy Bishop, to whom he was especially attached, as having been brought up under his care at Winchester.

"After being twice cast into prison by Elizabeth, and after being relegated later to a certain place, stripped of his dignity, and bound by the engagements of those who had offered bail, he fell into a quartan ague. And when he saw that he was labouring under this sickness even unto death, having made a public profession of his faith, he directed that his body should be buried decently in the Church of Winchester amongst his predecessors; desiring that the following should be inscribed upon his tomb: "Here lies John White, who hopes in the resurrection to find his portion with the Bishops his predecessors, since he has held their faith, and has urged the holding of it upon all his people."

The place, to which the Bishop had been "relegated," was, we learn from Machyn, South Warnborough, the residence of Sir Thomas White, his brother-in-law.

"The 12th day of January," wrote Machyn, "died good Master Doctor White, late Bishop of Winchester, in

[1] See p. 55.

[2] "White of Winchester" (says Andrewes, *Tortura Torti*, p. 146) "was indeed in prison for a time, but *not for that reason*" (*i.e.*, not for the oath), "but because he had said certain undutiful things in a sermon." From this the worthlessness of Andrewes' other statements may be judged.

Hampshire, at Sir Thomas White's place; the which died of an ague; and he gave much to his servants."[1]

Four days only after the event, his death was thus announced to the Count de Feria by Bishop Quadra on Tuesday, January the 16th :—

"The Bishop of Winchester died on Friday last, and the Bishop of Durham some days ago, with many others of their way of thinking, *but all of them like real Saints*, and with the Sacraments."[2]

We are not told how soon it was before his actual death that his relatives obtained leave to remove him from his prison; but "a rule was invariably followed," says Father Bridgett, "of restricting the recusants to districts where they had no influence, and excluding them from places where they had formerly lived."[3] South Warnborough, where he breathed his last, was not only in the heart of his own Diocese, but not many miles from Farnham, the Bishop's ordinary residence; and we may safely infer that the hand of death must have been already laid very surely upon the deprived Prelate, before he was suffered to be taken there. The same reason also shows us how strictly, during such time as he was at South Warnborough, the poor Bishop must have been kept confined.

The same too is, in reality, enough by itself to show the absurdity of the story told by Strype, who represents Bishop White as having "the liberty to walk abroad"; when, instead of consenting to "be quiet," he "would needs preach; which he did seditiously in his Romish pontifical vestments: for which he was committed to prison, but upon his acknowledgement of his misdemeanours, he was set free."[4]

If any opportunity of preaching to his people had been allowed the holy Bishop, no doubt he would gladly have taken advantage of it; and to have done so would, as Father Bridgett says in noticing the story, have only been

[1] *Diary*, p. 223, and note, p. 378.
[2] *Collection de Chroniques Belges*, t. ii., p. 186.
[3] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 114.
[4] *Annals*, vol. i., p. 145, ed. 1709.

"the more honourable to his zeal."[1] But his persecutors took good care that no such chance should be allowed him; nor has any one excepting Strype imagined it; and, when we come to examine Strype's authority, we find that we have here a useful instance (and others will be given later) of the rash and blundering manner in which he could at times enlarge upon his materials. He here gives the story, as if it were what "Bishop Andrewes saith," to "page 146" of whose *Tortura Torti* he refers. But when we turn to this, we find nothing there to give the least foundation to the story; unless it be the assertion made by Andrewes (which has been already shown to be untrue), as to the cause of White's imprisonment having been "some things said by him in a sermon";—the sermon in question evidently being the one preached by him at Queen Mary's funeral, before the persecution had as yet begun. All the rest is simply evolved by Strype's own imagination from Andrewes' statement that White "died outside the prison" (*extra carcerem fato functus est*). This was true enough, of course, if taken literally; although the Bishop was really in confinement all the while, and was therefore justly put down by Sander both in his Report and in his *De Visibili*, and by the other writers quoted in our second chapter, as having died *in vinculis*.

Although we may be sure that no such epitaph, as he himself had wished, was allowed to be placed upon his tomb, the holy Bishop's desire to be laid in his own Cathedral seems not to have been refused; for we read in the *Diary* of Machyn, who was probably himself employed as undertaker of the funeral, that: "the 15th day of January was carried to be buried Master Doctor White, late Bishop of Winchester, unto Winchester, and buried there."[2] Some years ago, there was brought to light, in a vault of the Cathedral, a coffin containing a body carefully packed round with wool, which the well-known antiquarian of Winchester, Mr Bageant, believed to be that of Bishop White. The wool he conceived to have been placed there, in order to hinder the body from

[1] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 69. [2] *Diary*, p. 224.

moving in the coffin whilst being conveyed thither from South Warnborough.

The epitaph which, years before, the good Bishop had caused to be erected for himself, whilst he was Warden of Winchester College, may still be seen in the cloister of the College, with the space left vacant for the date of his death.

In that same College he had been Sander's master and director, during the boyhood of the latter; and in the following verses which Sander added to his Report, by way of epitaph for Bishop White, he gracefully alludes to the special tie which binds him to the holy instructor of his youth, now gazing, as he assuredly believed, upon the face of God.

Epitaph.

Tu puerum quondam docuisti, maxime Vite,
Sanderum; Præses rexisti, et Pastor eundem!
Quid tibi Sanderus referet! Quæ præmia reddet?
Non ego, Vite, breves elegios dabo, quod tibi longam
Esse scio vitam. Quis enim deflere beatum
Posset? Longum ergo et lætum simul accipe carmen.
Candidus, alma volat virtus super astra, canitque
Dulce suo Christo carmen; non carmen iniquum,
Quod nunc dactilico, pede nunc incedit iambo;
Sed quale aut Moyses facie splendente beatus,
Aut chorus angelicus sacrata nocte canebat,
Gloria in excelsis clamans. Sit gloria Patri,
Gloria sit Nato, et Sanctum tibi gloria Flamen.
Unus es et trinus; sit trino gloria et Uni!

At the time of his death, in the first days of 1560, Bishop White had not yet reached, or, at all events, had not yet completed his 50th year; having been born either in 1510 or 1511.[1] The fearless and uncompromising zeal, however, with which he had stood forward to defend the truth from the first moment that it was attacked, had drawn down on him the special anger of Elizabeth and her counsellors; and it seems impossible to doubt that his untimely death at the beginning of her second year was

[1] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

directly caused by the sufferings of his severe confinement, as the Catholic writers of the time affirmed.

We have seen the incredibility of Camden's assertion that, at the Westminster Conference, the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln had proposed to excommunicate the Queen; since, if they had done so, it would have been impossible that there should have been no mention of it in any of the accounts, whether by Protestants, or Catholics, which were written at the time.

Nevertheless, we know from Cardinal Allen that the question of the Queen's excommunication was, at one time, considered by the Bishops; whom he praises, in his answer to Lord Burghley, for "fearing their personal peril so little, that they were many of them of that mind that it should be good to use the censure of excommunication against her Highness and some of her leaders into that revolt so dangerous and shameful to the State, so lately reconciled to the See Apostolic. . . . But the wiser of the Bishops, or, at least, the milder sort, persuaded the contrary for many inconveniences that might ensue; and so they rather resolved the matter to be remitted to the High Pastor of Christ's universal Church, than to be executed by them that were her subjects, not without peril, perhaps, of some further tumult, scandal, and trouble to the whole clergy, whom they would have interpreted to have done it of malicious and rebellious mind."[1]

Allen here names no individuals on either side; but if the account of Father Persons, written some years later, be correct, one of those to urge the Queen's excommunication was the Bishop of Winchester. In his unfinished *Story of Domestical Troubles*, Father Persons wrote: "Divers did wish [the Bishops] to go to Paul's Cross and excommunicate the Queen and her heretical counsellors; and this was much urged by Dr White, Bishop of Winchester, and divers others that adhered unto him, offering also himself to pronounce the excommunication, if the rest would have gone with him for countenance' sake. But, against

[1] *True, Sincere, etc., Defence of English Catholics*, p. 52.

this, did oppose himself, Dr Heath, Archbishop of York."[1]

The work from which the above is taken, was written, it is true, some forty years after the time referred to; and Father Persons had apparently been misinformed as to some of the circumstances which he mentions in connection with the incident.[2] Nevertheless, what he relates as to the Bishop of Winchester's courageous ardour is quite in keeping with what we have already seen. If true, however the incident must have taken place before the Conference at Westminster, since this was immediately followed by the Bishop's confinement in the Tower.[3]

[1] Transcript by Father J. H. Pollen.

[2] See p. 48, note (2).

[3] To the testimonies to Bishop White's death in confinement, which have been already quoted, may be added that of Pitts, who, though mistaken in thinking that his death took place in London, declares that "he died a Confessor in prison" (Confessor obiit in vinculis). *De Illust. Angl. Scrip.* p. 764.

CHAPTER X

BISHOP CUTHBERT TUNSTALL OF DURHAM. HIS FALL UNDER HENRY VIII. AND HIS REPENTANCE. HIS IMPRISONMENT AND DEATH UNDER ELIZABETH

ALTHOUGH pre-eminent amongst his fellow Bishops for his ability and learning, and for the distinction with which he had filled various State offices, Cuthbert Tunstall has been little mentioned as yet in these pages in consequence of his having been detained, till towards the close of Elizabeth's first year, at a distance from the capital, the chief scene of the religious struggle.

In a letter, written ten days after Queen Mary's death, Tunstall was thus alluded to by Mgre Priuli, Cardinal Pole's executor and confidential friend: "The Bishop of Durham and other Bishops besides are so infirm and aged, that it can scarcely be credited they will be long for this life." Tunstall was, in fact, then already entering upon the eighty-fifth year of his age.

At the time of Mary's death Tunstall was residing in his Diocese, which was separated then from London by many days' hard journey. There he was directed, as we have seen, by the new Queen to remain, partly on the ground of his great age, partly on account of the unsettled condition of the Border. He was thus unable in any active way to assist his brother Bishops in their battle for the faith in Parliament, except by commissioning the Archbishop of York to act there for him as his proxy.

As soon, however, as the treaty which Elizabeth had

Cuthbertus Tonſtall Epiſcopus Dunelmenſis.

[*To face p.* 152.

charged him to make with the Scots was concluded, with a courage which can only be called heroic, he set out from his home, where he might at least have died in peace, to address his remonstrances to the misguided Queen, regardless alike of his infirmity and of the peril of the undertaking.

Nothing, indeed, can well be more consoling than to note the change which had been wrought in the old man during his later years, and to mark the contrast between his earlier weakness under Henry, and the glorious confession of the faith which he now made under Elizabeth. The venerable Prelate, who now in his extreme old age was about to show himself so fearless an upholder of the truth, had indeed become a different man from the former timid, though always well-meaning, servant of the tyrant Henry.

That from the first he had ever been of high and upright character is proved sufficiently by his early intimacy with such men as B. John Fisher and B. Thomas More, of whom the latter, on returning from an embassy to the Low Countries in which Tunstall had been his associate, wrote in 1516 to Erasmus: "In my legation some things greatly delighted me. First, the living so long and continually with Tunstall, a man who, while he is surpassed by none in culture, nor in strictness of life, is also unequalled in sweetness of manner."[1]

When, too, the miserable question of the King's divorce arose, Tunstall, then Bishop of London,[2] along with B. John Fisher, B. Thomas Abel, and others, was appointed to act as one of the counsellors of Queen Catherine; and in this charge "he seems," says Father Bridgett, "to have been faithful, though somewhat timid."[3]

Similarly, when the King's claim to supremacy over the Church was first brought forward, Tunstall made a noble protest against it in the Northern Convocation held at York in 1531; declaring that the title of Supreme Head

[1] Father Bridgett, *Life of B. Thomas More*, p. 70.

[2] Tunstall was made Bishop of London in 1522, whence he was translated to Durham in 1530.

[3] *Life of B. John Fisher*, p. 161.

of the English clergy could not be granted to the King, unless expressly limited to *temporal matters*—"lest it should occasion scandal to the malicious or weak-minded."[1] And referring to this, Chapuys wrote to the Emperor on May the 22nd of that year: "Four days ago the ecclesiastics of the Archdiocese of York and the Diocese of Durham have sent to the King a great protest against the sovereignty which he would claim and usurp over them. . . . The King is greatly displeased."[2]

Indeed, into such disfavour with the King did Tunstall fall at this time, that he was unable even to take his place in the House of Lords, and was in actual danger of imprisonment, if not of worse. Thus, on the following January the 22nd, 1532, we find Chapuys writing: "On the 13th instant the session of Parliament began . . . only the Bishop of Durham, one of the Queen's good champions, has not been called."[3] And again, a year and a half later, on June 16, 1533: "The Synod of York has been assembled for some time past, by order of the King, that the clergy of that Diocese (Province) also may decide in favour of the divorce, but the Bishop of Durham, formerly of London, and who once was ambassador to your Majesty, has manfully resisted it. Had it not been for the circumstance that the King could not find in his whole kingdom an abler and fitter man to govern a country so close to the frontier of Scotland, the Bishop would have been cast into prison as well as he of Rochester."[4]

Till then, therefore, Bishop Tunstall's conduct had been without reproach. Unhappily, events were soon to prove that the gold in him at that time was still mixed with dross, and that he had not as yet obtained the martyr's

[1] Tunstall's protest is given in Wilkins' *Concilia*, vol. iii., p. 745. "Ne scandala malignis aut pusillis sensu generare possint, expresse in his verbis dissentio; et similiter declarandum et exprimendum puto verba illa (scil. unicum et supremum dominum) in temporalibus post Christum accipi."

[2] *Henry VIII.*, *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic*, Chapuys to Emperor, May 22, 1531.

[3] *Spanish Calendar*, January 22, 1532.

[4] *Ibid.*, June 16, 1533.

spirit; although he too was destined by God's mercy in the end—after having been envolved for years in schism—to lay down his life for the same cause as his friends BB. John Fisher and Thomas More.

In 1534 was passed the Act, by which all persons of lawful age—women as well as men—were required to swear to the succession of Anne Boleyn's offspring, and to the invalidity of the King's first marriage, rejecting thus the Holy See's decision.

In the Parliament which passed this wicked Act, as in those which had preceded, Tunstall had had no place; the King having, as Chapuys wrote on January 29, 1534, "countermanded all those whom he thought likely to oppose his views in the present Parliament, such as the Archbishop of York, the good Bishops of Durham and Rochester."[1]

Nevertheless it was the tyrannical severity, with which this wicked oath was exacted by the King from all his subjects indiscriminately, that was the occasion of poor Tunstall's fall.

Fisher and More had both been committed to the Tower for their refusal of it on April the 13th; and on the 20th of the same month, as we learn from a letter written on that day, "most part of the city was sworn"; the alacrity of the citizens to take the oath being no doubt quickened by the execution on that very day (as the same letter records), of Elizabeth Barton, known as the Holy Maid of Kent, "two friars observant, two monks, and one secular priest." The letter concludes significantly: "The Bishops of Durham, Winchester, and York *have been sent for*. Some think they will be committed to the Tower."[2]

Of what passed exactly, when Tunstall appeared before the Commissioners appointed to receive the oath, at the head of whom was Cranmer, no account has reached us. But we learn from a letter of Chapuys (which reveals something as to the means by which his constancy was

[1] *Ibid.*, January 29, 1534.

[2] *Henry VIII., Letters and Papers*, April 20, 1534. John Husee the younger to Lord Lisle (afterwards Duke of Northumberland).

overcome), that he was terrorised into taking the oath, though under certain reservations. Sad also to relate—so far from continuing to uphold the validity of the first marriage—he and Archbishop Lee of York, who had also yielded, were forced by their tyrant master—whom no half submission could appease — to call upon Queen Catherine at Buckden near Huntingdon, on returning northwards, and inform her that, other points having arisen, they had altered their opinion.[1]

The following is Chapuys' account of this sad affair, written to the Emperor on May the 19th, 1534.

"The Bishop of Durham is justly considered as one of the most learned, prudent, and honest Prelates in the whole kingdom, and has hitherto upheld the Queen's cause by his word as well as by his writings; but nowadays, not choosing to become a Martyr, . . . he has been obliged to swear like the rest, though under certain reserves and restrictions to satisfy, as he thinks, his conscience. The better and sooner to induce him to take the oath, after placing before him the example of the Bishop of Rochester and of Master More, they have goaded him in a manner which touched him more effectually. For, having been summoned and invited to the Court (a thing which he had never been allowed to do before, as long as Parliament or the Convocation was sitting—for if he happened to come to town at such a time, he was invariably ordered to return to his Diocese), on this occasion, as I say, he was particularly requested to come, and two days after he had quitted his house, certain Commissioners arrived, broke into it, searched every corner, and made an inventory of all his property, which they sent to the King, along with all the papers and letters they could find."[2]

Having given way on one point, it was naturally more difficult than ever for Tunstall to refuse to yield on others; and thus in the Calendar of State Papers belonging to the following year we find the following painful entry:

[1] *Ibid.*, May 21, 1534. Archbishop Lee and Bishop Tunstall to Henry VIII.

[2] *Spanish Calendar*, May 19, 1534.

"Renunciation of Papal jurisdiction by Cuthbert, Bishop of Durham, March 2, 1534 (5)." Eleven other Bishops are recorded to have made the same renunciation on the previous February the 10th; and others are named as having done so at the same time as Tunstall. Thus was the formal state of schism established, which was only rectified in the reign of Mary. The June and July of the same year, 1535, saw the martyrdoms of BB. John Fisher and Thomas More, and there is no doubt that Tunstall only escaped their fate by yielding as he did. Speaking a little later of his fall, and of that of Bishops Bonner and Gardiner, Father Persons wrote: "It was the fury of that tempest, which King Henry the Eighth raised against the clergy, upon spleen taken against the Pope for not satisfying his request about the changing of wives . . . that was the original cause of their overthrow."[1]

It is, of course, most true that the mere violence and cruelty of Henry could not excuse Tunstall and the other Bishops for yielding on a point for which they ought rather to have sacrificed their lives; nor can we think them to have acted in such ignorance as to be freed from blame. Nevertheless, it seems undeniable that the true nature of the Pope's supremacy was not then realised by them as clearly as it is by ourselves; and we know that at one time, Sir Thomas More himself had thought it to be not of divine institution. "Truth it is," he wrote to Cromwell, "I was myself sometime not of the mind that the primacy of that See should be begun by the institution of God."[2]

Such was the position now vainly taken up by Tunstall; and there is no doubt that in many minds at that time the true character of the Papacy had been at least obscured by the scandal (then still recent) of a Pontiff such as Alexander VI., and by the worldly spirit of the Renaissance movement.

"Owing either to the false principles," says Father Bridgett, "which had become current since the great schism, to the want of deep theological studies at the

[1] *Doleful Knell of Thomas Bell*, 1607, p. 67.
[2] Bridgett—*Life of Sir Thomas More*, p. 343.

universities, or to the contempt of ancient ways that then prevailed amongst the disciples of the Renaissance, the importance of the supremacy of the Holy See for the maintenance of unity was less felt than in former ages in England. Tunstall and others considered it to be of merely ecclesiastical institution, like the patriarchal and metropolitan authority, and, in their exaggerated spirit of nationalism, thought that it might be set aside and replaced by that of Catholic kings. The acts of the sovereigns of England, father, son, and daughter, were the best practical refutation of these theories."[1]

Tunstall's ineffectual attempt to defend the false position into which his want of heroism had then drawn him, may be read in a letter, which, at the King's command, he wrote to Cardinal Pole, in answer to the latter's treatise, *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*—a written copy of this treatise having been forwarded by Pole to Henry before its publication. In this letter, dated July 13, 1536, Tunstall wrote: "And where ye do find a fault with me, that I fainted in my heart and would not die for the Bishop of Rome's authority, when the matter was first proposed unto me, surely it was not fainting that made me agreeable thereunto, for I never saw the day—since I knew the progress and continuance of Christendom from the beginning, and read such histories ecclesiastical and ordinances from age to age, as do manifestly declare the same—that ever I thought to shed one drop of my blood therefor."[2]

To this Pole nobly answered: "It is Christ's cause, my Lord, and for His sake died those great men [Fisher and More], your great friends, whom you may not think of so little spirit, nor of so vile mind, that they saw not wherefore they died, or that they died for any respect, advantage, or thing to be looked for in this world. . . . God send you a livelier spirit than you show now to His honour!"[3]

[1] *Life of B. John Fisher*, p. 325.

[2] Printed in full in Pocock's *Burnet*, vol. vi., p. 177.

[3] Pole's letter is given in Strype's *Memorials of the Reformation*, vol. vi., p,p. 55-76 ed. 1816.

The livelier spirit, for which Pole thus prayed, came to Tunstall when he was imprisoned under Edward VI.; and to the Cardinal himself was eventually reserved the consolation of absolving him from the censures which his wrongful compliance had incurred.

"The fundamental changes," writes Father Bridgett, "introduced under Edward, always in virtue of the royal supremacy, opened the eyes of Tunstall and others to its true nature. The logic of facts was a more efficient teacher than that of words. Having discovered the error into which they had fallen as to the royal supremacy, they were led to reconsider the whole subject, and to look more deeply into the provisions made by Jesus Christ for the unity of His Church. They thus saw the fallacy of their objections to the authority of the Holy See. Some of the Bishops who refused to admit the supremacy of Elizabeth were taunted with their fickleness and inconsistency, since they had so easily admitted and warmly defended that of her father. So far as they were inconsistent, it was with the inconsistency of a sincere repentance."[1]

To the above wise words of Father Bridgett we may usefully add the following remark of Abbot Gasquet on the same subject: "Attention must be directed to an attitude of mind which, however hard now to realise, was then a potent factor in determining men's conduct. Apart from the idea of the King as 'supreme lord,' even in matters of religion, the law, as the expression of the will of the nation consecrated by royal sanction, seemed to men like Gardiner and Tunstall to have a claim not merely on outward obedience but even on conscience. In such men it would be an entire mistake to attribute compliance to the mere fear of the consequences of disobedience. However overstrained and unreasonable an attitude of mind such as this may appear now, it was then a fact and must be reckoned with. It is not intended to excuse or to blame those who thus acted; but merely to explain

[1] *Life of B. John Fisher*, p. 324.

actions which, unless this be borne in mind, must be wholly unintelligible."[1]

That the scales were at length removed from Tunstall's eyes, and that after his tyrant master's death he returned heart and soul to the Catholic faith in its entirety, is regretfully admitted even by those who would fain have seen him continue in his schism.

"In the reign of King Henry the Eighth," writes Fuller, "he publicly confuted the Papal Supremacy. . . . And yet (man is but man) he returned to his error in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, continuing therein in the first of Queen Elizabeth, for which he was deprived of his Bishopric."[2]

"He recovered himself," says Dodd the Catholic historian, "in the next reign of King Edward VI., when he not only refused to subscribe to the new scheme of religion, but sincerely lamented his slavish condescension in the article of the supremacy."[3] In singular agreement with this is the judgment passed on Tunstall by Cooper, in his *Athenæ Cantabrigienses.* "He most deserves censure," says this Protestant writer, "for his ready acquiescence in the commands of Henry VIII. But after the death of that monarch his views underwent a change, and rather than act in opposition to his conscience, he submitted to the loss of his preferments and his personal liberty."[4]

Tunstall's opposition to the plain Protestantism, which was introduced by those who ruled in the name of the boy King, led indeed to his arrest in the May of 1551 on a pretended charge of treason; and till near the end of that year he was kept a prisoner in his house in London, where he seems to have employed himself in writing his treatise, *De veritate Corporis et Sanguinis in Eucharistia*, which was completed in that year. On the following December the 16th, as the Grey Friars' *Chronicle* records, he was

[1] *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*—F. A. Gasquet, O.S.B., and Edmund Bishop, p. 79.

[2] *Worthies of England*, vol. iii., p. 409.

[3] *Church History of England*, vol. i., p. 484.

[4] *Athen. Cantab.*, vol. i., p. 201.

committed to the Tower; and there, on the 12th of October, 1552, after being "brought to examination at the place that sometime was called the Abbey of Tower Hill, he was deposed of his See, and committed unto ward again."[1]

Thus it was that Tunstall was allowed by God to make atonement for his previous weakness under Henry, and he is named by Sander amongst the Catholics whom Queen Mary upon her accession found "in prison for the profession of the faith."[2]

"If Bonner and Tunstall," says Father Persons, "wrote against the Pope . . . it could not but be a blot to their reputation; which notwithstanding was washed away afterwards, by their constant durance in King Edward's reign, and loss of their Bishoprics and imprisonment suffered in time of the late Queen" (Elizabeth).[3]

From the Tower, Tunstall was removed some time before Edward VI.'s death to the prison of King's Bench, whence, on August the 6th, 1553, he was released by order of Queen Mary (as the Acts of the Privy Council show), three days after she had made her royal entry into London; and that he enjoyed the full confidence of the new sovereign from the first is proved by the reappearance of his name from that time, as one of the members of the Privy Council, in the Register of the Council's Acts. Moreover, he was one of the Commissioners appointed by Queen Mary to remove the married Prelates from the Sees into which, under the late King, they had been intruded.

We have also sure proof of the openness with which Tunstall had returned to his obedience to the Holy See, in the abuse which was immediately heaped upon him, for this very reason, by those of the reforming party. Thus, within three months of his release from prison, there appeared a book, brought out, it is believed, by "foul-

[1] Camden Society, 1852, *Chronicle of Grey Friars of London* p. 75.

[2] *Angl. Schism.*, trans. by Lewis, p. 221.

[3] *Doleful Knell of Thomas Bell*, 1607, p. 67.

mouthed" Bale, with an insulting allusion in the preface to a sermon, printed in Henry VIII.'s time by Tunstall against the "pretensed authority of the Bishop of Rome; . . . Whereof," complained the writer, "he [Tunstall] seemeth at this day to be bent—that sermon notwithstanding—not only to be no hinderer, but also a friendly favourer, a trusty proctor, and an open defender." The same writer went on to speak of him, as having been "long ago reputed a still dreaming Saturn, always imagining mischief."[1] Such words, coming from a man like Bale, were in reality the highest praise that could have been bestowed on the repentant Bishop, who was now endeavouring, to the best of his ability, to repair the scandal he had given by his fall.

The joyful news of Queen Mary's accession to the English Throne had been conveyed with all speed to Rome; and on hearing the good tidings on the 5th of August, Pope Julius III. burst into tears of joy, and, summoning at once a congregation of the Cardinals, named Pole (then absent at Maguzzano in North Italy) his Legate for the restoring of England to the Church.

Pole's first step, on receiving news of his appointment, was to despatch to England his secretary, Henry Pyning, with a letter to Queen Mary. Before Pyning could arrive, however, Mary had already received a secret visit from Mgr. Commendone, who was sent to her from Brussels by Cardinal Dandino, the Legate to the Emperor Charles V. To him Mary confided a message to be at once conveyed to the Pope, expressing her desire to see England restored

[1] The book, in the Preface to which these words occur, is a translation (by one signing himself "Michael Wood") of Gardiner's treatise *De Vera Obedientia*, written years before in defence of Henry's schism. Needless to say, it had been translated without its author's leave. The translation bore the date "Roane [Rouen] xxvi. of Octobre MDLIII." Mr Gairdner (*English Church in 16th Century*, p. 327) believes "Michael Wood" to have been a pseudonym for Bale, the apostate Carmelite, whom Edward VI. had made Bishop of Ossory in Ireland. The passages above quoted are taken here from Maitland's *Essays on Subjects connected with the Reformation*, p. 367.

to the Church, and begging for absolution from the censures incurred by the schism.[1]

Thus were commenced the negotiations for England's reconciliation, which, in consequence of various difficulties which arose, was not finally accomplished until more than a year later. We must here confine ourselves to the steps taken for the rehabilitation of the Bishops.

In addition to the Bishop of Durham, Mary had found confined in various prisons, on her accession to the throne, Bishops Gardiner of Winchester, Bonner of London, Heath of Worcester, and Day of Chichester—all of whom had been deprived of their Sees and imprisoned under her brother. The above-named Bishops were at once restored to the possession of their Sees by Mary; and with them must be mentioned also Bishop Thirlby, who then held the See of Norwich, and who (as Cardinal Pole wrote afterwards to Pope Julius III.) would also have been thrown into prison under Edward, for his resistance to the abolition of the Holy Sacrifice, if an embassy on which he was sent to the Emperor had not saved him.[2]

The canonical rehabilitation of these Bishops was necessarily one of the first objects of the negotiations between the Queen and Legate, and was one of the things spoken of by Mary in her first interview with Pyning, who conveyed to her Pole's letter, with his congratulations on her accession, and the announcement of his appointment by the Pope as Legate.

"Speaking about the Bishop of Winchester who was to crown her," says Pyning in his account of the interview, "and of the few other Catholics now there, her Majesty wished them also to be absolved, that they might be able

[1] This is related by Pope Julius III. himself in a letter to Pole, dated Sept. 20, 1553, printed in Tierney's *Dodd*, vol. ii., App. XVIII., where also, in App. XXII., are given the faculties conferred on Pole. For further information, see Estcourt's *Question of Anglican Ordinations*, pp. 32-35.

[2] *Quirini. Epistolarum Card. Poli Collectio*, Pars V., p. 5—Pole to Julius III., March 10, 1555.

to say Mass and administer the Sacraments without sin, until able to have the general absolution."[1]

As early, too, as August the 28th, 1553, we find Pole writing to Bishop Gardiner to tell him of the faculties he had received for the reconciliation "of the kingdom and its inhabitants individually"; and urging him "to become an instrument to console the Head of the Church of God on earth" by that "honour and obedience which is due to him."[2] Moreover, in the following January, Bishop Thirlby himself met the Cardinal at Brussels by the Queen's desire, and held converse with him, doubtless on the matter.[3] As was only natural, however, before the formal Dispensations, which the case required, could be issued to the several Prelates, certain preliminaries had to be observed which necessitated some delay. But that Bishop Tunstall and some others very soon received, at all events, a private absolution, is clear from the fact that he acted as assistant consecrator, along with Bishop Gardiner, to six new Bishops, who, by arrangement with the Legate, received consecration on the first of April, 1554, at the hands of Bishop Bonner. Moreover, in a letter, dated May the 25th of the same year, Pole himself was able to declare to Cardinal Morone that, "for the desired conclusion of the total restoration of the realm to the obedience of the Church, nothing remained but the restoration of the Church property."[4] In the instructions also given by him, at the same date, to a messenger whom he was sending to Queen Mary, Pole speaks of her act in "bringing back the Bishops, without delay, from the schism to the unity and obedience of the Church, as the most praiseworthy she had performed."[5]

Thus it is clear that at least Bishop Tunstall and the other two just mentioned, had been reinstated by the

[1] *Venetian Calendar*, October 25?, 1553, from a MS. in St Mark's Library.

[2] *Ibid.*, August 28, 1553.

[3] *Ibid.*, January 23 and 28, 1554.

[4] *Ibid.*, May 25, 1554—Pole to Morone.

[5] *Ibid.*, May 25?, 1554—Card. Pole to his agent in England.

spring of 1554; and in the autumn of the same year, we learn from Machyn's *Diary* that, on Sunday, October 14, "the good Bishop of Durham did preach in the shrouds," or triforium, of St Paul's;[1] and a fortnight later we find him again acting as assistant, at the consecration of Bishop Hopton, appointed to the See of Norwich.[2]

All this time Cardinal Pole had been hindered by various causes from himself coming into England, and everything had been so far transacted by him by the means of messengers and letters. The difficulties, however, which detained him having been at length removed, he crossed to Dover and reached the metropolis on November 24, 1554. At Gravesend, the Bishop of Durham was deputed to receive him with the Earl of Shrewsbury, charged to deliver to him a copy of the Act reversing his attainder, which had been passed by Parliament two days before. Thence the Cardinal and the Bishop proceeded together to Westminster by water, the silver cross, the emblem of his legatine authority, being fixed in the prow of the royal barge which bore him. Bishop Thirlby also, already transferred to Ely, and a numerous train of nobles and of gentry had accompanied him from Dover. Six days later, on the feast of St Andrew, in presence of the Queen and of her husband, King Philip II., and of the members of both Houses of Parliament, the Cardinal Legate had the consolation of pronouncing the absolution of the nation from heresy and schism and its restoration to the communion of Holy Church; and on the following Sunday, Bishop Gardiner, the Lord Chancellor, preached his celebrated sermon at Paul's Cross, before the King and Queen, the Legate, and all the Bishops, in which he lamented his own "conduct under Henry VIII., and exhorted all who had fallen through his means, or in his company, to rise with him, and seek the unity of the Catholic Church."[3]

Sermons to the same effect were doubtless preached by the other Bishops also, as occasion offered; for the

[1] *Diary*, p. 71. [2] Stubb's *Regist. Sac. Angl.*

[3] Lingard, vol. v., p. 453, ed. 1883. Machyn's *Diary*, December 2, 1554, p. 77.

formal deeds of Dispensation, which each one of them received from the Legate about this time, show that each of them, on being absolved from his censures, had expressed the self-same sorrow for his fall as Bishop Gardiner.[1]

The Bishops remained in London till January 25, the feast of St Paul's conversion, on which day, in thanksgiving for England's return to the true faith, all the parishes and guilds of London went in procession to St Paul's, to receive the Papal Blessing with a Plenary Indulgence. After this, says the writer of a Letter of Intelligence to Rome, dated January 30, "the Cardinal Legate held a meeting of all the Bishops in his house, and discussed with them matters relating to their office and the present needs, . . . and then, when certain matters have been settled," the letter continues, "they will all be ready to go to their own residences, furnished with faculties from the Legate to absolve in their own Dioceses all, whether ecclesiastics or others."[2]

In the month preceding, Parliament had been occupied in repealing the anti-papal legislation of the time of Henry VIII.; and it is pleasing to note that in the passing of the measure brought in for this purpose, the Bishop of Durham took an active part, having been named one of the Committee, which was appointed on December 6, "to confer with certain of the Lower House" for the drawing of the Bill.[3]

Few things would have been more interesting than to trace the acts of the aged Bishop Tunstall after his return

[1] The Dispensation granted by Pole to Bishop Thirlby, on the day before his confirmation to the See of Ely, on August 20, 1554, is printed in full by Canon Estcourt (App. XV.), as an example of what—*mutatis mutandis*—was addressed to each. In it occurs the following: "Cum errores quos commiseris nunc agnoscas et fatearis, et de illis ex toto corde doleas de præsenti, ut te ab illis absolvere et ad unitatem Ecclesiæ recipere de benignitate Apostolica dignemur, enixe desideras et cum omni humilitate supplex oras et supplicas." The formal Dispensation to Tunstall to retain the See of Durham, which his lapse into schism had forfeited, was dated January 27, 1555 (Estcourt, *ibid.*).

[2] Estcourt, App. XVII. [3] *Lords' Journals*, December 6, 1554.

into his Diocese of Durham, to which he came back in the spring of 1555, once more strengthened by the pardon and the blessing of Christ's Vicar, and filled with holy ardour for the repairing of the mischief which schism and heresy had wrought amongst his people during the last twenty years. Unfortunately, however, we have hardly any records still remaining to enable us to do this.

The fidelity with which the sturdy people of the north clung to the ancient faith, had been proved already by the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536, which for a moment had made even the tyrant Henry tremble on his throne; and was to be proved again in 1569 by the second Pilgrimage of Grace, led by B. Thomas Percy of Northumberland and the Earl of Westmorland. But heresy had triumphed in many places, at all events externally; and during the good Bishop's imprisonment under Edward VI., open Protestantism had been introduced into his own Cathedral by the fanatical Dean Horne. The accession of the good Queen Mary had, however, obliged Horne to fly abroad, and in the November of 1553 the Deanery of Durham had been conferred upon the excellent Dr Thomas Watson (promoted in 1557 to the See of Lincoln), by whom the Catholic worship was once more restored.

In the autumn of the same year 1555, Tunstall was obliged to return to London to attend the Parliament, and still more the Provincial Council which Cardinal Pole had summoned. One of the chief matters, which occupied the attention of the Fathers of this Synod, was the necessity of providing suitable instruction for the people so long led astray by false preachers; and in the only record, which has been preserved to us, of Tunstall's pastoral labours at this period, we seem to see the fruits of their deliberations. After returning to the north, the Bishop held a visitation of his Cathedral, and most probably of his Diocese; and the instructions which he delivered on occasion of this visitation to the Dean and the Cathedral Chapter, in the June of 1556, are published in the volume of the Surtees Society for 1839. In these, after certain regulations regarding the recovery of church property unlawfully

appropriated during the past troubles, the good Bishop went on to inculcate the need of frequent preaching in the Cathedral, and in the numerous dependent churches which the Chapter was obliged to serve.

"Inasmuch as our Church of Durham possesses many country churches granted to it for its own advantage, from the tithes of which it receives much fruit, the divine law demands that, in return for the material tithes which we receive from them for the better maintenance of our bodies, we should each year supply spiritual banquets of the word of God for the feeding of their souls, lest we should seem more eager to shear than to feed the Lord's flock. Wherefore, beloved brethren, we exhort you in the bowels of Jesus Christ, in all those churches belonging to your Dean and Chapter, of which you are the patrons, to sow the seed of God's word each year at the suitable time, and especially in Lent, by means of frequent sermons delivered either by yourselves, or by others to be sent by your care and industry; lest, through want of instruction in the law of God, the flock of Christ, not being fed with the food of life, should be obliged to die for hunger of God's word, to the grave danger of your own souls. We therefore enjoin upon you and command, in virtue of holy obedience, that you shall provide for the spiritual nourishment of all the churches of which you are the patrons."

From the following, in the latter part of the same charge, we can gather something of the holy Bishop's love for the most Blessed Sacrament:—

"Since latterly," he continues, "in these most perverse times in which the Christian faith has been brought into doubt, some heretics have not only not been afraid to scorn the other Sacraments, but have even impiously laid their wicked hands upon the Sacrament of the Body and the Blood of Our Lord placed upon the altar, and have cast it on the ground and trampled it beneath their feet; in order that in future a crime so atrocious may not easily be attempted by pestilent heretics, we decree, in accordance with the sacred Canons, that the sacrament of the Body

and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ shall be reserved in future, guarded safely by lock and key, in a becoming tabernacle constructed on the upper part of the altar and fashioned either of stone, or of wood and iron, and large enough to receive conveniently the sacred pix in which the Sacrament is laid. . . . Towards the becoming and safe construction of this tabernacle, we ourselves will to the utmost of our power most willingly contribute." This document is dated June 17, 1556.[1]

In order to understand the above, it must be remembered that, in the Middle Ages, the mode of reserving the Blessed Sacrament was different from that which is at present practised; and the ancient book, known as the *Rites of Durham*, records that in Durham Abbey Church before the dissolution of the Monastery, "over the high altar did hang a rich and most sumptuous canopy for the Blessed Sacrament to *hang* within it, . . . and a marvellous fair pix that the holy Blessed Sacrament did hang in, which was of most pure fine gold, most curiously wrought of goldsmith's work . . . and the crook that hung within the cloth that the pix did hang on was of gold, and the cords that drew it up and down were made of fine white strong silk."[2]

It is easy to understand the danger of sacrilege and irreverence, to which a continuance of this beautiful practice would have exposed the Blessed Sacrament, in the sad times which had then succeeded.

From this visitation of his Cathedral Church, made by him in 1556, we are able to gain a slight glimpse of the zeal with which the good old Bishop laboured for the re-establishment of religion in his Diocese during the too brief reign of Mary. It is unfortunate that no account has reached us of the sermons preached by him at this period, such as we have of those of Gardiner and of Bonner, who like him had now become firm assertors of the Pope's authority, after having upheld the King's supremacy under

[1] *Historiæ Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres*, Surtees Society, 1839, App. CCCLV., *Visitatio Eccles. Dunelm*, 1556.

[2] *Rites of Durham*, Surtees Society, 1842, p. 6.

Henry. The excellent effect, however, which Bishop Tunstall's words and example had produced in this respect upon his clergy, can apparently be traced in the firmness with which so many of the latter refused the oath of the Queen's supremacy when offered them by the visitors sent by Elizabeth in the September of 1559. When called before these visitors at Auckland, on September 21, "Dr Robert Dalton, Canon of Durham, Vicar of Billingham and Norton, the holder of valuable preferment, . . . is reported to have said," writes Dr Gee, "'that he believeth that he who sitteth in the seat of Rome hath and ought to have the jurisdiction ecclesiastical over all Christian realms.' Dalton was examined three times over, and was eventually deprived." "The Durham Chapter," adds Dr Gee, "were perhaps the most sturdy of all the Cathedral Chapters in resistance to the visitors."[1]

Another proof of the good Bishop's piety is a little volume, published by John Cawood in 1558, containing "Certaine Godly and Devout Prayers, made in Latin by the Reverend Father in God, Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, and translated into Englishe by Thomas Paynell, clerke"; of which there is a copy in the British Museum.

It would be beside our present purpose to speak of the negotiations with the Scots, in which Tunstall, in conjunction with B. Thomas Percy, the Earl of Northumberland, was employed by Mary—as also by Elizabeth in the first months of her reign—excepting in so far as these negotiations, which detained him in the North, were the reason of his absence from Elizabeth's first Parliament, where his brother Bishops vainly battled for the faith. That his absence had been in no way due to indifference or to timidity, was proved by the resoluteness with which, as soon as he found himself at liberty, he set out on the long journey southwards, to remonstrate with the Queen against the changes she was making.

The peace negotiations with the Scots having been brought to a successful termination, Tunstall wrote to the Queen from Auckland, on June 30, 1559, asking to be

[1] *Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 79.

allowed to give her an account of the transaction, and beseeching "license to come to her to do his duty to his sovereign once in his days this summer season—the best time of the year for him to travel in—as he did not look to live long. Her pleasure known, he would repair, with such speed as his old carcase would suffer him, to her."

On the same day he wrote also, to the same effect, to Cecil, beseeching "him to further his suit for visiting the Queen, that he may once in his day see her"; and desiring "him to declare to his servant the Queen's pleasure."[1]

The good old man must have set out from Auckland immediately on receiving the Queen's answer; for, on the following July 13, he wrote from Doncaster to the Earl of Shrewsbury that, "having concluded a peace with the Scots," he had "made suit to come to her (the Queen's) presence, and having obtained it, is thus far on his way towards her. Out of his way he may not go, having promised to come with speed, which is but small journeys, 'though they be great to me, carrying my old carcase with me.'"[2]

The journey from Doncaster to London, in his feeble state, occupied a week; and Sander, writing only two years later, tells us that the venerable Bishop "preached to his people on the way, in spite of the Queen's prohibition, exhorting them to remain constant in the Catholic faith."[3]

His arrival in London is thus recorded by Machyn in his *Diary:* "The 20th day of July, the good old Bishop of Durham came riding to London with threescore horse, and so to Southwark, unto Master Dolman's house, a tallow chandler, and there he lies (*i.e.*, resides) against the chaingate."[4]

The reason of his taking up his quarters in what would seem to have been a comparatively humble lodging,

[1] *Foreign Calendar*, 1558-1559—Tunstall to the Queen, and to Cecil, June 30, 1559.

[2] *Ibid.*, July 13, 1559.

[3] "Non modo venit festinato, sed etiam contra edictum reginæ in itinere prædicans, plebem suam exhortatus est ut in fide Catholica constans perseveraret" (Sander to Morone, f. 262).

[4] P. 204.

was, that Durham House, his rightful London residence, had not yet been restored to him, after its seizure by Northumberland in the reign of Edward; though its eventual restitution to the Bishop had been secured by Pole before his death.[1] Meantime it had been made the residence of the ambassadors of Spain; first of the Count de Feria, and then of Bishop Quadra, who was there installed when, in the July of 1559, the venerable Confessor rode into London in the way described by Machyn. It was natural, therefore, that Quadra should feel a special interest in the arrival of the aged Prelate, in whose own house he found himself; and the following letter, written by him on August the 13th, tells us something, both of Tunstall's interview with Elizabeth, and of the sad spectacle which London then must have presented to him.

"They have just taken away the crosses, images, and altars from St Paul's[2] and all the other London churches, but encounter resistance as usual in the matter of the oath. In all else they do as they please, but it is thought that outside London they will not have it all their own way. They have deprived the Bishops of St David's and Exeter this week, and the Bishop of Durham, a very aged and learned man, came up from his Diocese solely to tell the Queen what he thought about these affairs. He showed her documents in the handwriting of King Henry against the heresies now received, and especially as regards the Sacraments, and begged her at least to respect the will of her father, if she did not conform to the decrees of the Church; but it was all of no avail, and they only laugh at him, as he might with better reason laugh at them. They tell me that this Bishop will remain steadfast,

[1] A letter still exists, in which, three months only before the Cardinal's death, Bishop Tunstall thanks him "for procuring the grant to him of the reversion of Durham Place." (*Domestic Calendar*, 1547-1580, p. 105.)

[2] We read in Wriothesley's *Chronicle of England for* 1559 (Camden Society, 1877, p. 146), "Saturday, the 12th of August, the altar in Paul's, with the rood and Mary and John in the rood loft, were taken down."

and his opinion has much influence and weight in his Diocese."[1]

Bishop Tunstall's visit to the Queen must have been paid very shortly after he reached London, since in the first week of August she started on a progress into Surrey. It is thus described by Sander: "On being introduced into the presence of the Queen, the saintly Father began seriously to remonstrate with her for taking into her woman's hand the matter of religion, and for having deprived herself of such Bishops as the Christian world hardly possessed elsewhere. 'I confess,' said she, 'that I am sorry for the loss of those of York and Ely.' 'But how are you sorry,' answered Tunstall, 'when you can yourself prevent this evil? If you will but be a Catholic, you can have in your Council, not them alone, but many others also.'"[2]

Whether or not he was allowed any opportunity of communicating with his episcopal brethren already deprived and placed under restraint, we have no means of knowing; but the above words of his, preserved to us by Sander, show how entirely he was at one with them.

It is evident that Tunstall gained no satisfaction from his first interview with the Queen. The brave old Bishop was not, however, to be daunted; and the following letter to Cecil, written on August the 19th, shows the efforts which he had meantime been making to see Elizabeth if possible again; for which purpose he had been out to Hampton Court,[3] and after remaining there a week, had come back to London without being admitted to her presence. In this same letter also, in the plainest terms, he makes known to the powerful minister, to whom more than to any other was due the change of religion, his unflinching resolution never to give it his consent.

[1] *Spanish Calendar*, 1558-1567, p. 89. This letter is dated in the Calendar, "July 13, 1559 (August?)." The events mentioned in it show the true date to be August the 13th.

[2] Report to Morone, f. 262.

[3] From Nonsuch, in Surrey, the Queen reached Hampton Court on August 10; and went from thence to Lord Clinton's place on August 17. (Nicholl's *Progresses of Elizabeth*, vol. i., p. 73.)

"Right Honourable,—After my humble recommendations to your mastership, it may like you to understand that where[as] I have been the last week at the Queen's Majesty's, lying at Hampton Court, somewhat importune upon you to have brought me to the speech of her Majesty; and now she is departed thence, and by her gests—as I am informed should go to Horseley, Guildford, Chobham, and Windsor; and in removings I know the time not to be convenient to make any suit, unto [*i.e.*, until] her Majesty shall come to some stay: I beseech your mastership to send me word by this bearer where ye think best for me to repair to her Highness at some resting place; wherein ye shall do me singular pleasure, and bind me to yourself, and to be ready in some part to recompense it to my power, God willing, as occasion shall serve.

"And where[as] I do understand out of [*i.e.*, from] my Diocese of a warning for a visitation to be had there, this shall be to advertise your mastership that, albeit I would be as glad to serve the Queen's Highness, and to set forward all her affairs to her contentation as any subject in her realm—yet, if the same visitation shall proceed to make end in my Diocese of Durham as I do plainly see to be set forth here in London, as pulling down of altars, defacing of churches by taking away of the cruxifices, *I cannot in my conscience consent to it*, being pastor there: because I cannot myself agree to be a Sacramentary,[1] *nor to have any new doctrine taught in my Diocese.* Whereof I thought meet to advertise your mastership, humbly beseeching the same not to think me thereunto moved, either for any forwardness, malice, or contempt, but only because my conscience will not suffer me to receive and allow any doctrine in my Diocese *other than Catholic;* as knoweth Almighty Jesu, who ever preserve your mastership to His pleasure and yours. From London, the 19th of August, 1559. Your mastership's humble and assured loving friend,

"CUTH. DURESME."[2]

[1] By this name the followers of Calvin and Zwingli were called.

[2] *R. O. Domestic Elizabeth*, vol. vi., No. 22.

In this noble protest the good old Bishop gave proof of that "livelier spirit" which now actuated him, and which Pole had desiderated for him more than twenty years before; and so anxious was he that Elizabeth and her ministers should make no mistake as to his resolution, that on the same day he addressed a copy of it, couched in the self-same words, to Sir Thomas Parry, Treasurer of the Queen's Household; preserved now in the Record Office, together with his letter to Sir William Cecil.[1]

After this there is little likelihood that any opportunity was allowed to Bishop Tunstall of speaking to the Queen in person, although her ministers seem still to have entertained some hope of his conforming; since on the following September 9 was issued the commission, already spoken of for Parker's consecration, addressed to him and the two other Bishops not as yet deprived—viz.: Bourne of Bath and Pole of Peterborough; to whom were joined Kitchen, Barlow, and Scory.[2] It was perhaps his refusal to obey this commission, joined to his rejection of the royal visitation, that was the occasion of his being brought before the Council towards the end of the same month. His dignified refusal to accept the new creed urged upon him by the Council was thus reported by Sander to Cardinal Morone.

"Being ordered by the Council to change his religious belief, he replied: 'Having publicly taught the faith for more than forty years, as priest and Bishop, do you think it fitting that, after all my study of it, after all my practice and experience of it, I should now in my extreme old age take my rule of faith from youthful laymen?' Put to shame by this, they began to administer to him the oath of the Queen's supremacy; on his refusing which, he was deposed from the exercise of his episcopate, and was committed to the custody of the pseudo-bishop of Canterbury; where after a few days the most blessed old man died."

To the same effect, in his unpublished history, Sander adds that, when questioned by the Council as to his belief,

[1] *Ibid.*, No. 23.

[2] See page 115.

Tunstall made reply: "It is my office to teach you what you must believe, and not to learn from you."[1]

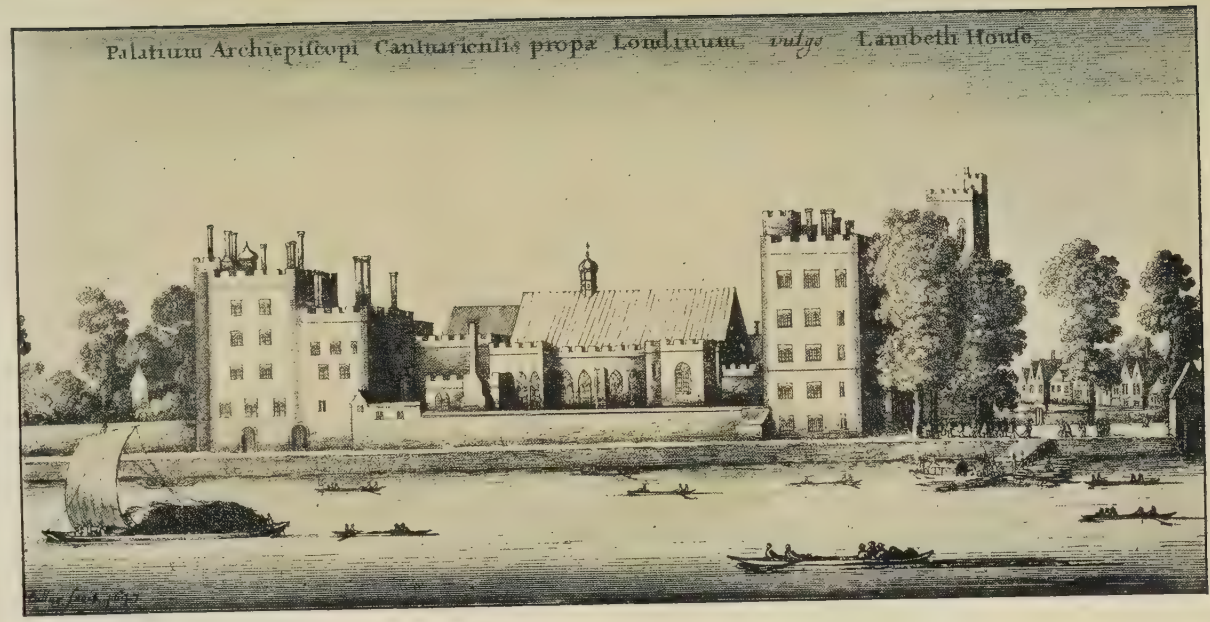
What Sander thus relates, as to the intrepidity with which the venerable Bishop answered, is confirmed by what Cecil himself wrote to Throckmorton a few days later, in a letter summarised as follows in the *Calendar:* "The Bishop of Durham is deprived, and *for certain disordered speech* committed to the Archbishop of Canterbury."[2] His committal to the custody of Parker is also thus found recorded in 1586 in Hooker's continuation of the *Chronicle of Hollinshed:* "He [Tunstall] was deprived of his Bishopric, after disputation and conference had at Westminster, in *which he defended the Roman religion,* in the first year of the said Elizabeth, about the truth of God's Gospel, and was committed to Matthew Parker, Bishop of Canterbury."[3]

Bishop Tunstall's deprivation was noted as follows by Machyn: "The 28th day of September, which was Michaelmas eve, was the old Bishop of Durham, Dr Tunstall, deposed of his Bishopric, because he should not receive the rents for that quarter."[4] It may be that his deprivation was not made public till the 28th; but we have seen that Machyn did not always place events upon their proper days, and this entry was inserted by him in his *Diary* after several relating to October.

The following letter, addressed to Parker by the Council on the previous day, and directing him to take the Bishop into his custody as a prisoner, seems to show that his deposition took place really on September the 27th:—

"The Lords of the Council to Archbishop Parker Elect,—After our right hearty commendations to your good lordship, we, by the advice of Mr Almoner, have sent unto you the Bishop of Durham, desiring you to appoint a fit chamber for him, and one man to attend upon

[1] Father Pollen's transcript.
[2] *Foreign Calendar*, October 1, 1559.
[3] Hollinshed, t. iii., p. 1186, ed. 1586.
[4] *Diary*, p. 214.



LAMBETH AS IT WAS UNDER ELIZABETH.

[*To face p.* 176.

him in your house near unto you; so that (at times seeming to you convenient) you may have conference with him in certain points of religion wherein he is to be resolved. And during the time he shall remain with you, *to have a vigilant eye that no man hath access unto him, but yourself and such as you shall appoint;* and that he have meat, drink, and all things necessary as to him appertain: for the which you shall be assured to be satisfied with thanks. And thus most heartily fare you well. From Hampton Court, the 27th of September, 1559. Your lordship's assured loving friends,

"E. CLYNTON, W. HOWARD,
"THS. PARRY, G. ROGERS,
"F. KNOLLYS, W. CECIL."[1]

The words here placed in italics show how strict was the confinement to which the venerable Confessor of 85 was sentenced by the Council; and they furnish the best comment on the flippant assertion made by Camden that "he died at Lambeth *in free custody*."[2]

Cecil was fully alive to the advantage which the accession of such a man as Tunstall would have brought to his cause, and he left no means untried to win him over. At first, indeed, Parker, to whom the Bishop had been sent "to be resolved" upon the points in question, held out hopes of succeeding in the unholy task committed to him; and in the same letter to Throckmorton, of which part has been already quoted, we find Cecil writing, on the first of October, that "the Archbishop of Canterbury to-day has written some hope of his reconciliation, a thing which for his own part he (Cecil) much desires."[3] These false hopes were without delay communicated to the Queen and Council by Cecil, who in their name wrote next day to Parker.

[1] *Parker Correspondence*, p. 77. Printed from the Parker MSS. at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

[2] *Annales ad an.* 1559, p. 37.

[3] *Foreign Calendar*, October 1, 1559.

"My good Lord,—The contents of your yesterday's letters I have imparted to her Majesty and others of her Majesty's Council. It is much liked the comfort that ye give of the Bishop of Durham's towardness, wherein I pray God ye be not deceived. It is meant, if he will conform himself, that both he shall remain Bishop and in good favour and credit; *otherwise he must needs receive the common order of those which refuse to obey laws.* Good my Lord travail herein as ye may with speed. October 2. Yours assuredly,

"W. CECIL."[1]

"Parker," writes Father Bridgett, "had been too hasty, and had mistaken courtesy for submission or vacillation."[2] This is proved by the following from Cecil, written to him three days later:—

"My good Lord,—The Queen's Majesty is very sorry that ye can prevail no more with Mr Tunstall, and so am I, I assure you; for the recovery of such a man would have furthered the common affairs of this realm very much. Her Majesty would that he should have liberty to send to Durham for discharge of his household. And further ye may say to him that I trust her Majesty will be pleased to appoint him some convenient pension in consideration of his reverend age, which shall also be the larger as his conformity shall give occasion. — From Westminster, October 5, 1559.—Your lordship's assured friend,

"W. CECIL."[3]

It has been long the fashion amongst writers to extol the "courteous" and "honourable" treatment, which they represent Parker to have accorded to his venerable prisoner, or "guest," as they would rather style him. Yet, when the above letters come to be examined (which contain the only real evidence upon the matter), they are found to tell a very different story.

[1] *Parker Correspondence*, p. 77.
[2] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 58.
[3] *Parker Correspondence*, p. 78.

In them we read the orders given by the Council for the holy Bishop's *close confinement* from the first; and we find these instructions followed up by Cecil's threat that, unless he would conform, "he must needs receive the common order of those which refuse to obey laws." That he continued to the end firm in his resolution not to yield to their demands, we know from the testimony of friends and foes alike; and the old man's constancy would naturally lead rather to an increase than to a relaxation of the severity of his imprisonment.

It is in truth a mere piece of anachronism to suppose (as has been done so often) that, even in the case of a prisoner such as Bishop Tunstall, Elizabeth and Cecil were affected by ideas in any way akin to those which now would regulate his treatment. We do not know what was the nature of the "fit chamber," which Parker appointed for his prisoner. But, in obedience to the Council's orders, we may be certain that his safe keeping was the first thing looked to; and we shall in fact see later on, that, whatever his own feelings were about it, so little was left to his discretion in such matters that, when Bishop Thirlby came to die years after in his house, Parker dared not, without Cecil's leave, so much as move the dying Confessor into a more airy room.

Moreover, with reference especially to Tunstall, Cecil was evidently too much bent on breaking down the old man's opposition to suffer him to end his days in peace, even in a prison. He was to be "travailed with" and "resolved" upon the points on which he held out against the Queen's decision. In other words, he was to be harassed and worn out with daily disputations, without consideration for his feebleness and venerable years, and with no friend at hand to encourage or support him. It is no wonder, then, that some seven or eight weeks of trial such as this brought the old man's life to an end.

Considering the strictness with which he had been ordered to be kept confined, it is not surprising that few particulars regarding Tunstall's sufferings at Lambeth should have reached us. However, that the harassing

discussions were kept up by Parker to the end—and that too without success on his side—is sufficiently clear from an incident alluded to by Foxe, whose word, in this instance, we have no reason to call in question.

Mention has been made already of the letter against the Pope's supremacy, which, after drawing Tunstall so unhappily into the schism, Henry VIII. had made him write to Pole. In introducing this letter into his *Book of Martyrs*, Foxe notes in the margin: "This letter was testified by Cuthbert Tunstall to Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury, and others, to be his own *about fourteen days before his death.*"[1]

That the unhappy letter had been written by him, Tunstall was, of course, unable to deny; but not even by Foxe is it pretended that he then still held the sentiments expressed in it; and, if he had but done so, the door of his prison would have at once been opened; and Parker and Cecil would have triumphantly made known to the world their victory. At the same time, the incident does show the persistency with which, to the very end, his tempters strove to wrest from him some denial of the Pope's authority, though foiled in their attempts by his heroic constancy.

Testimonies are indeed forthcoming, as we shall see, in abundance, both from his Protestant and Catholic contemporaries, to the fact that, in spite of all the efforts made to overcome his resolution, he remained steadfast to his dying breath. Before, however, placing these before the reader, something must first be said of an ungenerous attempt to rob the holy Bishop of the glory of his good confession, some thirteen years after his death; to which Parker, at any rate, gave his approval, if he was not in fact its author. We have seen how readily he had given his sanction to the dishonest altering of Bullinger's book in 1571, and, in the following year, the ease with which he could lend himself to misrepresentations of the truth, was

[1] *Acts and Monuments*, vol. ii., p. 289, ed. 1684. The first edition came out in 1563, only four years after Tunstall's death.

shown in the work which he brought out under the title of *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ.*

The chief part of this book is occupied with Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, ending with one of Parker himself, which, from its bearing no other heading than his Christian name, is usually spoken of as the *Matthæus.* The work was printed in 1572, but was at first circulated only privately and without its author's name; nor is the *Matthæus* found in all the copies of this first edition.[1]

As to its composition, it is attributed in part to Parker's secretary, Joscelin; though Parker himself, in sending a copy of it to Cecil, spoke of it as "one of *my* small travails"; nor is it disputed that even the *Matthæus* was, at any rate, revised by Parker.[2]

The book is written throughout with the animus of a violent partisan of the Elizabethan settlement of religion, and the *Matthæus* in particular is but a fulsome panegyric of its chief promoters,—especially of Cecil and of Bacon; but, most of all, of Parker, who, if he was himself its author, forfeits by that fact alone all claim to any credit for its statements.

What here alone concerns us with it, is a calumnious charge brought in the *Matthæus* against Bishop Tunstall, of having been "entirely brought back, through Matthew's means, from the many papistical fancies which he followed in the reign of Mary"; and of "having declared that the Pope's power, which had been so ambitiously extended, ought to be removed altogether from the necks of Christians, and confined within the limits of his own, that is to say the Roman city and Diocese. . . . Nevertheless," continues the *Matthæus*, "on some points regarding Church matters he still held firm (*in articulis tamen quibusdam ecclesiasticis adhuc firmiter hæsit*), although he declared the marriages of clerics to be allowed and permitted by the divine law."[3]

[1] In the edition of 1729 the *Matthæus* is printed continuously with the other Lives. Strype has also printed it in his *Life of Parker*, App. XC.

[2] See Articles on Parker and on Joscelin in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[3] *De Antiq. Brit. Eccl.*, p. 551, ed. 1729.

As to the last point here mentioned, viz., the marriages of priests, Tunstall, if asked upon the subject, would naturally, of course, reply that their prohibition belonged to the ecclesiastical, not to the divine, law. But, if there is any truth in the above account, it seems to show that Parker, who had broken through his priestly vows and taken to himself a wife, had tried to extort from his prisoner some approval of his sacrilegious conduct ; and we are thus reminded of the special suffering which the enforced companionship of such a one must have caused to the holy Bishop, whose own life had been ever so reproachless.

As regards the graver charge of having again denied the Pope's authority, no one even for a moment can suppose that, if such a success had been really gained by Parker over Tunstall, he would have been content to wait for thirteen years before making known his triumph ; and that even then he would have only circulated it in the stealthy way above described.

Moreover, what is said as to this in the *Matthæus*, is not only contradicted by all the authorities to be quoted shortly, but is also inconsistent with what is stated in that book itself, as to the cause of Tunstall's imprisonment,—viz., his refusal of the oath of supremacy ; since this would certainly have no longer caused him any scruple, if the sentiments there so calumniously imputed to him had been held by him in reality.

But the worthlessness of the whole story is perhaps best shown by the fact that, for the sake of glorifying Parker, the same sort of thing is also affirmed in the *Matthæus* with reference to the other Catholic prisoners committed to his custody ; not excepting even Bishop Thirlby, who died in his house still a prisoner for the faith, after spending more than ten years in various confinements. Of him, and of the rest of those committed for their refusal of the oath, the *Matthæus* boasts that Parker, "by his gentleness and kindness, by his prudent and well chosen speech, withdrew them from the worst of their Popish errors and brought them almost to the Gospel truth."[1]

[1] *Ibid.*

Its writer dwells with special pride upon the recantation which had been obtained by Parker from Dr Richard Smith, an Oxford Professor. But he carefully omits to mention that, so far from having really been converted to the new religion, Dr Smith had gone abroad directly afterwards to the Catholic University of Douai, of which he became one of the first Professors, and died there in 1563.[1] He makes special mention also of a Mr Rice, or Rise, "who had," he says, "been influential in the court of Mary, but whose obduracy in his Popish opinion Matthew had so softened, that he had confessed his error with abundant tears; and he was accordingly released from prison and went home."[2] This gentleman, who is called in the *Matthæus*, "E. Ricæus Armiger," was, there seems no room to doubt, the same person as a certain William Rise, whose name appears in April 1561, in a list of prisoners who had been taken hearing Mass, and who was confined for some time in the Tower.[3] Thence, on the following October the 24th, the Council sent Rise to Parker with a letter, in which they explained that "he seemeth now to us very humble . . . saving in the recognizing of the Queen's Majesty's superiority by oath, according to the laws of the realm"; and requesting Parker "to take some pains . . . to bring him to conformity." This letter from the Council is printed amongst Parker's correspondence, the editor of which states that it bears, written on the fly-leaf (apparently in Parker's handwriting, though signed "Willm. Rice"), a general acknowledgment of Queen Elizabeth's sovereignty "over all manner of persons born within her realms . . . ecclesiastical or temporal." This, however, was evidently not enough to satisfy the Council, which (unfortunately for the boastful writer of *Matthæus*) addressed a second letter to Parker on December the 14th, as follows: "Understanding from you that William Rise, heretofore committed to

[1] Lewis's note to Sander's *Hist. of the Schism*, p. 186.

[2] *De Antiq. Brit. Eccl.*, p. 553.

[3] *Dom. Calendar*, Addenda, April 1561—"Names of prisoners for the Mass."

your custody, is not yet persuaded to receive the oath appointed by statute for the acknowledging of the Queen's Majesty's authority, we have resolved that he shall be returned to the Tower, for which purpose we have written the letter inclosed to the lieutenant, praying your lordship to send the same, together with the body of the said Rise, unto him, of whose further custody your lordship is for this time discharged."[1]

Thus, instead of having moved his prisoner to shed tears of repentance for his errors, Parker had been obliged in reality to inform the Council of his inability to prevail on him to take the oath.

From this can be judged the value of what is said in the *Matthæus* with reference to Bishop Tunstall.

As was only natural, its calumnious story (which, as Father Bridgett says, "is contradicted by both acts and words,")[2] was greedily adopted by Strype in his *Life of Parker;* but there is something quite amusing in the way in which it was embellished by that prejudiced historian, who evidently thought that any stick was good enough to beat his hated Papists with. After quoting from the *Matthæus* what has been told above with reference to Tunstall, Strype continues: "To all which I may add his judgment in point of justification, which was according to the doctrine of the reformed, as appears by a book that he wrote and published, anno 1555, in quarto, *Contra Blasphematores Johannis Redmanni de Justificatione.*"[3]

This extravagant assertion, by which poor Tunstall is made out to have become a Lutheran—and that, too, in the middle of Queen Mary's reign—is too preposterous to need any reply. But it will hardly be believed that Strype has here actually jumbled together into one, the titles of two different books; both of which were brought out indeed in 1555, by Tunstall, but neither of which can have been ever seen by Strype. The real title of the first (which is a refutation of the Calvinistic doctrine of

[1] *Parker Correspondence*, pp. 154-155.
[2] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 55.
[3] *Life of Parker*, p. 47.

predestination), is *Contra Blasphematores Dei Prædestinationis.* The second, entitled *Johannis Redmanni . . . de Justificatione opus*, was only edited by Tunstall, being a posthumous work of Dr Redman, a learned relative of his, who had died in 1551. In his preface to it, Tunstall praises Redman's work as a useful *refutation* of the Lutheran doctrine. Yet this is the work to which Strype refers, in the ignorant and blundering manner shown above, to prove that he held Lutheran opinions![1]

The Bishop of Durham had fellow sufferers at Lambeth, confined there for the same cause as himself, in the persons of the Bishop of Ely, and of Dr Boxall, Dean of Peterborough, and late Secretary of State to Mary. Of these the latter had been given into Parker's custody on the 2nd of November;[2] the date of the Bishop of Ely's committal is not mentioned. In the *Matthæus*, Parker is represented as having "so delighted in the company of these three men, eminent for their dignity and learning, that he very often made them sit as guests at his own table." It is justly remarked, however, by Father Bridgett, that: "Even should a prisoner be summoned to dine with his jailor, he is no guest, but a prisoner still:"[3] and the above from the *Matthæus* reads too much like the interpolated passage in the book of Bullinger to be accepted on its own authority.

That, in any case, there can have been no free intercourse between the prisoners is certain from the instruc-

[1] Copies of the two books, which Strype has thus confused together, may be seen at the British Museum. Foxe has a long story as to the supposed conversion of Redman to Lutheranism on his death-bed. On the strength of this, Strype was not ashamed still further to invent as follows: "It seems several Papists had railed against him (Redman) after his death, and occasioned this learned Bishop, even under Queen Mary, to take his part in the said book" (*Life of Parker*, *ibid.*). Had Strype ever seen the book, he would have found—1st, that it is a set treatise *against* the doctrine he imputes to Redman; and 2nd, that Tunstall's Preface makes no *defence* of Redman, none such having been required.

[2] Letter from the Council to Parker, *Parker Correspondence*, p. 104.

[3] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 60.

tions which Parker had received with reference to Bishop Tunstall, "to have a vigilant eye that no man have access unto him, but yourself and such as you shall appoint;" and, if at this time Parker did ever summon any of them to his table, it was most likely only to confront them with some harassing and vexatious disputator; as was done in the case of Abbot Feckenham, when in the custody of Horne.

Although all who have followed the lead of Burghley and of Camden have attempted to make little of the imprisonment endured by Bishop Tunstall in Parker's house at Lambeth, the first, to the present writer's knowledge, to question the fact of his having died there has been Dr Gee, who declares: "there is no evidence to prove that he was with Parker at the time."[1]

It is clear that, when he wrote thus, Dr Gee had not consulted Parker's own work, *De Antiquitate*, etc., in which Tunstall's death in the Archbishop's house at Lambeth is distinctly mentioned twice: first in the Life of Archbishop Warham, whom Tunstall had served as his Vicar-General; and again, in the *Matthæus*, the veracity of which on this point there is no ground for questioning. In the Life of Warham, Parker says with reference to Tunstall: "As Bishop of Durham, he ended his life at a great age and full of days in the household of the Archbishop of Canterbury, from which he had made his first entry into the Court (as we shall relate further on in the Life of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury), on November 18, 1559, after completing his eighty-fifth year." His words later on in the *Matthæus* are: "He died at Lambeth in the Archbishop's house, in extreme old age."[2]

From the following letter, written by Parker to Cecil on the very day of the venerable Bishop's death, it would seem that his end came suddenly, or at all events without much warning. It is clear, however, from the wording of the letter, that intelligence of the event had been previously sent to Cecil in some other way.

[1] *The Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 38.
[2] *De Antiquitate Brit. Eccl.*, pp. 468, 552, ed. 1729.

"My Lord of Durham hath one of his executors here, the other is in the North, where also is his testament. This executor saith that his mind was to be homely and plainly buried. Consider you whether it were not best to prescribe some honest manner of his interring, lest it might else be evil judged that the order of his funeral were at the Council's appointment, not known abroad that the handling of it were only at his executors' liberality. I have sealed up two small caskets, wherein I think no great substance, either of money or of writings. There is one roll of books which he purposed to deliver to the Queen, which is nothing else but King Henry's testament, and a book *Contra Communicationem utriusque speciei*, and such matter. His body, by reason of his sudden departure, cannot be long kept. Thus Jesus preserve you! This 18th of November.[1] Your beadman,

"M. El. C." (Matthew Elect of Canterbury).

Thus, then, were the sufferings of the aged Confessor at last brought to a close on November 18, 1559; after he had atoned for his earlier weakness by his brave upholding of the faith under Elizabeth, and by the endurance for nearly two months of imprisonment, subjected to continual questionings.

The reader will forgive us for again repeating here the words of Bishop Quadra, written from London to the Count de Feria on the following January 16, which have been already quoted in speaking of the death of Bishop White. "The Bishop of Winchester died on Friday last, and the Bishop of Durham some days ago, with many others of their way of thinking, but all of them *like real Saints and with the Sacraments.*"[2]

From these last words we may, it seems, infer that one or other of Bishop Tunstall's fellow prisoners had found means to administer to him the last rites on his death-bed. We have seen already that the Bishop of Ely was in communication with Bishop Quadra, who doubtless received his account from him.

[1] *Parker Correspondence*, p. 106. [2] See p. 147.

One week only after the Bishop's death, in a letter dated "Westminster, November 25," and written by one "R . . . ny," who describes himself as having "until late been a truant from the Court," the news of the event was thus communicated to Sir Thomas Challoner, the English ambassador in Flanders. "The Duchess of Suffolk is dead, and also the old Bishop of Durham, *not conformable*." [1]

Here we have an explicit and impartial testimony to the Bishop's firmness to the end.

Evidence as striking to the same effect, is found in the abusive language with which Tunstall was followed to the grave by those whose new religion he had so steadfastly refused to join; although, from motives of policy, even these felt themselves obliged to pay some funeral honours to one so universally esteemed.

Thus, in the Register of Lambeth Parish Church, we find the following almost abusive record of his burial; "1559, November, the xxix. day, Cuthbert Tunstall, a *popish byshop* was buryed." [2] Here the very epithet applied to him attests Parker's failure to seduce him from the faith.

Similarly, Jewel, in exultantly announcing to his friend Peter Martyr, some weeks later, the deaths of Tunstall and the three others who followed him so quickly, was not ashamed to call the venerable Prelate by the contemptuous nickname given him by foul-mouthed Bale. "You should know," wrote Jewel from London on February 4, 1560, "that your friend White, the great and popular Bishop of Winchester, Oglethorpe of Carlisle, Bayne of Lichfield, and Tunstall *the Saturn* of Durham, all died some days since." [3]

[1] *Foreign Calendar*, 1559-1560, § 323. The signature to this letter, says the editor, is "nearly entirely erased."

[2] Copied from the Lambeth Register itself by Mr R. Raikes Bromage, on December 4, 1902. Machyn (whom Father Bridgett followed) erroneously placed Tunstall's funeral on November 19, where it is inserted after several entries relating to December (*Diary*, p. 218). Misled, too, by a note of Machyn's editor (p. 377), Father Bridgett placed Tunstall's death upon November 15.

[3] *Zurich Letters*, 1st series, Ep. 29.

It is easy to imagine how differently Jewel would have spoken of him, if he had but consented to renounce his allegiance to the Pope.

A still more telling testimony to Tunstall's final fidelity is found in the coarse speech of Pilkington, his intruded successor at Durham, who boasted openly that he was not of the same religion as his predecessor. "In Durham I grant," he said in 1561, "the Bishop that now is, and his predecessor, were not of one religion in divers points, nor made Bishops after one fashion. This one has neither cruche [crosier] nor mitre, never sware against his prince, his allegiance to the Pope: this has neither power to christen bells, nor hallow chalices and superaltars, etc., as the other had; and with gladness praises God that keeps him from such filthiness. His predecessor wrote, preached, and swore against the Pope, was justly deprived afterwards for disobedience to his prince [Edward VI.], and yet being restored, *submitted himself to the Pope again.*"[1]

It is clear then that, in spite of his lapse under Henry, all fluctuation on the part of Bishop Tunstall ceased with his submission to the Pope in Mary's time.

As to such funeral honours as his persecutors thought themselves obliged to pay him, we have seen how Parker had expressed his fear to Cecil that "a homely and plain burial," such as the Bishop had desired for himself, would be "evil judged," and bring blame upon the Council. The same fear was evidently entertained by Cecil, who therefore felt it necessary to make a show of doing honour to the widely-venerated Prelate, whose name was known throughout Europe, but whom he had persecuted to the death in his old age.

Accordingly, in spite of what had been said by Parker as to the need of seeing to his speedy burial, we find that the Bishop's funeral did not take place until eleven days after his death; and that a panegyric was then preached upon him by one of the most violent reformers, Alexander Nowell, who became soon after Dean of St Paul's.

[1] Pilkington's Works — *Burning of St Paul's*, 1561, p. 586. (Parker's Society.)

"He was buried," says Hooker in his addition to the *Chronicle of Holinshed*, "in the choir of the Church of Lambeth. Whose funeral sermon was done by Alexander Nowell, then[1] (and now in 1586) Dean of Paul's. Who, taking this theme to entreat upon, 'Blessed are they which die in the Lord,' did there deliver such liberal and singular commendation of this man for his virtuous life, learning, gravity, and good service done to many princes of England, that more could not be said of any man, being spoken truly."

At the same time that it had been perfectly understood by Nowell's hearers that, in spite of the praises given to him, Tunstall had died a staunch maintainer of the faith for which he had been placed in confinement, is made clear by the words in which the self-same chronicler continues :—

"Such force hath virtue, that we ought to commend it even in *our enemies*. . . . This man was (as it should appear in stories) full of contumacy and self-will ; intractable he was and of nature rebellious. For, saith Master Foxe in the reign of King Edward, being cast into the Tower for his disobedience, where he kept his Christmas three years together—more worthy of some other place without the Tower, if it had pleased God otherwise not to have meant a further plague to this realm by that man. Howbeit, he was indued with such excellency of learning, and that of sundry suits, that of the learned he is noted for a mirror of that age wherein he lived ; and, albeit *a Papist*, yet not deprivable of the praise which it pleased God to provide for him—being *an enemy unto the truth* perhaps through fear, as many more."[2]

To have died, reviled by men such as Pilkington and Foxe as *a Papist* and an *enemy unto the truth*, is indeed the best testimony that could have been given to Bishop Tunstall's final constancy.

The following, from a writer very different from those above, has a special interest as coming from the Martyr

[1] Nowell, in reality, only became Dean of St Paul's in November 1560.

[2] *Holinshed's Chronicles*, vol. iii., p. 1186, ed. 1586.

Bishop's own cathedral city. It is taken from the book known as the *Rites of Durham*, the work, under Elizabeth, of some sorrowful lover of the ancient days, possibly one of the former Durham monks. Amongst the notices there given of the burial places of the Bishops, we find: "Cuthbertus Tunstall, Episcopus, being at commandment with the Archbishop of Canterbury"; (or, as another manuscript of the same says, being "kept prisoner in the Archbishop's house at Lambeth"), "there died *a professed Catholic*, and lieth buried in the Church of Lambeth."[1]

The will of Bishop Tunstall still exists—undated, though shown by internal evidence to have been made towards the end of Mary's reign. In it the Bishop expressed his desire—should he die in his own Diocese—to be buried, "without all pomp and vanity," in his Cathedral, "in the middle of the nave before the image of the crucifix." The chief part of his goods, after the payment of his servants, he left in charities.

The will begins with the following touching expressions of humility and of sorrow for his sins, amongst which was evidently uppermost the remembrance of his bygone betrayal of the faith.

"In primis commendo animam meam in manus Dei Omnipotentis, Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, ad cujus imaginem et similitudinem creata est, suppliciter deprecans ne mihi in judicio imputetur quod tam pulchram et præclaram Dei imaginem innumeris vitiis et peccatis nimium sæpe maculavi. Quæsoque ne intres in judicium juste judex cum me *fugitivo servo tuo*, quia non justificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis vivens, sed ut propitius sis omnibus iniquitatibus meis obsecro miserator, et ut corones me in miserationibus tuis, et quia in te fuit spes

[1] Surtees Society, *Rites of Durham*, p. 51. On the south side of the Chancel of Lambeth Parish Church a brass has been recently erected by a member of the Tunstall family, on which are recorded the chief events of the Bishop's life. His body is believed to lie under the communion table, where formerly the High Altar stood. The original inscription placed on his gravestone by Walter Haddon has long since disappeared.

mea a juventute mea ne sinas me confundi in æternum."[1]

In calling himself a *fugitive* from God, he can only have had in mind the years that he had spent in separation from the Church.

The following are the verses with which Sander closed his account of Bishop Tunstall in his Report to Cardinal Morone. In them he lays special stress upon his heroism in having left his safe repose at Durham, to drag his aged trembling limbs to London, there to confess the faith before the Council, and then to die in a real prison (*in rigido carcere*).

Epitaph.

"Cur tantum properas, O nimium senex?
Dunelmi licuit vivere splendide.
Londini quid agis? Candida te fides
In molli thalamo stertere non sinit.
Illa est illa fides, quæ juvenescere
Fecit sancta senis membra trementia;
Quam cum Concilio principis impiæ
Confessus fueras Catholicus Pater,
Et jam deposito pontificis gradu
Constans in rigido carcere degeres,
Commendas manibus mox animam Dei,
In cœlo cathedram pontificis tenens."

The state of real *imprisonment*, in which (as stated here by Sander), Cuthbert Tunstall breathed his last—although perpetually denied by later writers—was so well known to the people of the time, that when Horne, in defending the oath of supremacy, had appealed to the example of Tunstall and others who in earlier days had taken it, Stapleton had no hesitation in replying: "What mean you to allege the judgments of Dr Gardiner, Dr Thirlby, Dr Tunstall, and Dr Bonner, since you know that all those changed their minds upon better advice? Or *why died Dr Tunstall in prison?* Or why lie the

[1] Transcribed by Mr R. Raikes Bromage from the P.C. Canterbury Register. The will was proved at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on January 30, 1560.

other learned godly Bishops yet in prison, if they are of your mind? . . . Once in manner the whole clergy of the realm sinned most grievously by preferring the secular and earthly kingdom before the magistrates of the heavenly kingdom. But that sin of theirs all those now abhor, and have before abhorred, to whom God gave grace to see the filthiness and absurdity thereof."[1]

The work, from which this is taken, appeared in 1567, whilst Bishops Bonner and Thirlby and several others were still surviving in their prisons.

Without repeating the words of the Catholic writers already quoted in the second chapter of this book, by whom Bishop Tunstall has been classed amongst the Confessors and Martyrs, we may here add to them the testimony of Pitts, who thus commemorates his death: "He ended his life most holily in prison, and as a Confessor for the faith of Christ."[2]

To show still better that their Catholic contemporaries regarded as true *Martyrs* Bishop Tunstall and the others, whose deaths in prison have so far been related, we may close this chapter with quotations from the works of two priests of the highest character, both then in exile for the faith, which were in each case published within six years of the holy Bishops' deaths.

The first is from a work brought out in 1565, in answer to the Protestant Dean Nowell, by Thomas Dorman, late Fellow of All Souls, Oxford.

"You say that this oath, which I talk of, was never required of such of the clergy as be in prison. The oath that I talk of is of forsaking the Bishop of Rome. Will you stand to this lie, that this oath was never required of such of the clergy as be in prison? Divers of them, even of the best, have died therefore *constant Martyrs in prison.* You cannot truly deny it."[3]

In the same year (1565), Dr Thomas Harding (named

[1] *Counterblast to Mr Horne's Vain Blast*, 1567, p. 368.

[2] *De Illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus*, p. 760. Pitts died about 1616. His work was published posthumously in 1619.

[3] Disproof of Mr Nowell's Reproof, Antwerp, 1565, f. 17.

in the year following, by St Pius V., along with Sander, Apostolic Delegate for England) replied as follows to a taunt of Jewel's:—

"Ye fly not to the fire, as we do, say ye, but unto the Scriptures. Neither do ye reason with us with the sword, but with the word of God! Ah, good word of God! Thou servest too many purposes! And is it indeed the word of God, Sirs, that keepeth so many Reverend fathers in prison these many years? Is it the word of God that hath deprived so many men, some of their livings, some of their countries, whose life ye cannot blame? Is it the word of God that by cruelty of imprisonment of late years *gave most certain occasion of death* to those holy, learned, and worshipful men, who for their singular virtue, being well known, need not here be named?"[1]

[1] Confutation of a book entitled *An Apology of the Church of England*, Antwerp, 1565, f. 224 *b*.

CHAPTER XI

CONTINUED IMPRISONMENT OF THE OTHER BISHOPS. SIX OF THEM COMMITTED TO THE TOWER. EFFORTS OF THE POPE AND EMPEROR ON THEIR BEHALF—1560-1563

HAVING seen how the first four of our Bishops won their crowns, we must now return to their companions, whom we left imprisoned, in the autumn of 1559, in the houses of the new State Bishops.

Lord Burghley, who was from the beginning himself the chief agent in the persecution of the faithful Prelates, had the audacity, in his *Execution of Justice*, to represent them as having "all *enjoyed* their life as the course of nature would," boasting that on none of them had been inflicted "pains of treason."[1]

To this Cardinal Allen made reply: "Let not the Libeller so much extol the equity and mercy used in her Majesty's regiment to certain of the old principal clergy, because they put them not to death as they have done others since. Cicero will not stick to tell them what a benefit is done to an honest man, when his purse is taken from him, and yet his life is saved; and what thanks are to be rendered in that case to the benefactor. What courtesy so-ever was showed at that time more than afterwards to such as followed, which in good sooth was no other than, instead of a present quick despatch on gibbet, to allow them a long and miserable life, or rather a lingering and languishing death in durance, desolation, and

[1] *Somers' Tracts*, vol. i., p. 193.

disgrace;—a far worse kind of persecution, as St Hilary noteth against Constantius, the Arian Emperor, than any other." Further on he sums up the life led by the deposed Bishops, as a "perpetual imprisonment and pining away in miserable desolation, . . . tossing and shifting from one superintendent's house to another, from one keeper to another, from one prison to another, subject to extreme wants, and to a thousand villainies besides," a condition "worse than any death in the world. This, then," he concludes, "is a true persecution, indeed, when such men, for such causes, against all reason and laws, be so vexed by such as owe them all reverence, duty, and obedience."[1]

From what is to follow, we shall see that the above was no exaggerated account of the misery and suffering, in which the holy Bishops were made to spend the years (for some of them few, for others more) which yet remained to them of life; and in another place in the same book Allen speaks of them as having undergone a "*martyrdom* before God as glorious as if they had by a speedy violent death been despatched."[2]

Not long after the deaths of the four, whose end has been related, fresh measures were taken by the persecutors with a view, if possible, to overcome the constancy of the surviving Prelates.

The first to be dealt with by them was the dauntless Bishop of London, who was from first to last the object of their special animosity; and who, on the 20th of April 1560, was removed from the place, where till then he had been detained, into one of the public prisons,—the Marshalsea in Southwark, where he remained until his death.

"If any of the Bishops are ever put to death," wrote Sander in the following year, "it is certain that he is the one first destined so to suffer. He is therefore the one who is nearest to martyrdom."[3]

The history, however, of Bishop Bonner's sufferings must for the present be reserved, to be told separately later. For, from this time until his death, he seems to have been confined apart from all his brother Bishops.

[1] *True, Sincere, Modest Defence*, pp. 41 and 52.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

[3] Rep. to Morone, f. 266.

For the same reason also we must defer to speak of Bishop Poole of Peterborough, who by reason of his illness was left in private custody for some time longer; though sent eventually to the Fleet prison.

Soon after Bishop Bonner's committal to the Marshalsea, we find Bishop Scott of Chester sentenced to the Fleet, as is proved by the following return, made by the warden of that prison on July 3, 1561 :—"Cuthbert Scott, sometime Bishop of Chester, was committed prisoner to the Fleet the 13th of May, an. Dom. 1560, by the Queen's Majesty's Commissioners, and his cause is to me unknown."[1]

This Bishop was described by Sander to Morone as "equal to the others in constancy, but superior to them all in eloquence. To him," he added, "release from prison was never offered upon any terms—I believe, because, having ascertained the opinions of the others, they made sure he would be of the same mind."

The Bishop of Chester was, as we have seen, the only one of the imprisoned Bishops who contrived to escape. After being detained for some years in the Fleet, he had been allowed (most likely on account of illness), to retire on bail into Essex, bound to remain within twenty miles of Finchingfield, and to appear in person before the Commissioners whenever summoned.[2] "This," writes Father Bridgett, "was a penal obligation, and not a *parole d'honneur;* and the Bishop did not consider himself bound by it, but managed to escape into Belgium."[3]

A false rumour of his death in London, occasioned perhaps by his having had a fresh attack of illness, appears to have helped his escape. For Dr Gee writes that, when questioned afterwards by the Commissioners, "his surety replied that he understood Scott to have died in London, May 6, 1563, and that the Bishop had lived at Gosfield (in Essex) since the bond until April 22, 1563, when the Warden of the Fleet summoned him thither."[4]

[1] Quoted by Father Bridgett, *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 73.

[2] *Cal. Dom.*, 1547-1580. *Eliz.*, vol. xxxv., p. 38. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

[4] *Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 193, where Dr Gee quotes from *S. P. Dom.*, vol. xxxv., p. 38.

The good Bishop only survived his escape one year and a half, during which time he lived at Louvain. There, says a notice of him in a Latin Life of B. John Fisher, written early in next century, "he gave no little help, by his authority and his money," to Dr Harding, who was then beginning his controversy with Jewel;[1] and to whom, also, we may be sure, he conveyed full information as to the condition of the other Bishops, whether dead, or still confined in prison. Bishop Scott died on October 9, 1564, and was buried at Louvain in the Church of the Franciscans.[2]

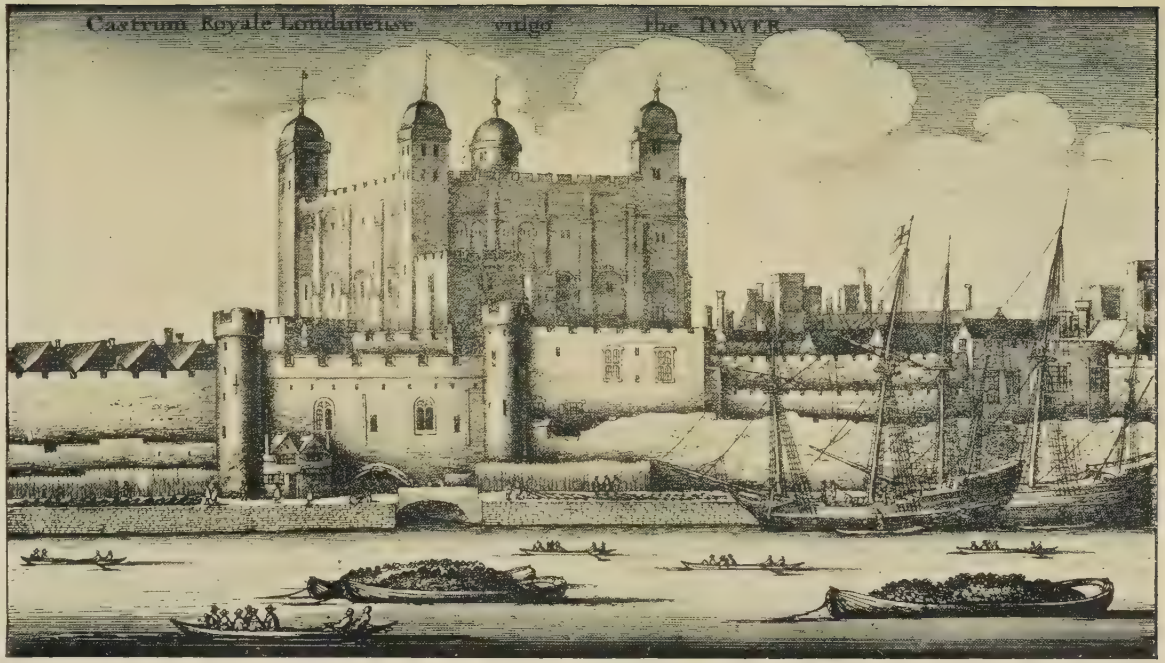
Meantime all the other Bishops, excepting Poole and Bonner, had been committed to the Tower in the May, or June, of 1560, as shown by a return of the prisoners in the Tower, made by Sir Edward Warner, its Lieutenant, on May 26, 1561, from which the following is taken.:—

"Dr Heath, late Bishop of York, committed 10th June, 1560; Dr Thirlby, late Bishop of Ely, committed 3rd June, 1560; Dr Watson, late of Lincoln, Dr Pate, late of Worcester, committed on 20th May, 1560; Dr Turberville of Exeter, Dr Bourne of Bath, committed on 18th June, 1560." Together with these six Bishops, the same return makes mention also of "Dr Feckenham, late Abbot of Westminster," and "Dr Boxall, Dean of Peterborough and Windsor," committed to the Tower on May 20, and June 18, 1560. "The causes of these eight foresaid persons,

[1] Father Bridgett, p. 75, quotes this account of Bishop Scott from Harl. MS. 7030. The Bishop is mentioned in it, as having been brought up at the same College (Christ's) as B. John Fisher.

[2] Molanus (*Historiæ Lovaniensium*, libri xiv., p. 785, ed. 1861) gives the epitaph placed over Bishop Scott's tomb, in the Franciscan Church.

"Anglia Cuthbertum peperit cognomine Scotum.
Sed natale solum tribuit Northumbria tellus.
Pagina sacra habuit Doctorem Cantabrigensem:
Cestria Pontificem, necnon Ecclesia gemmam.
Integritas vitæ Bernardum reddidit orbi;
Eloquio visus nobis Chrysostomus alter.
Sepultus ad Minores, Lovanii obiit die S. Dionysii, 1564."



THE TOWER AS IT WAS UNDER ELIZABETH.

(*From Pennant's "London."*)

[*To face p.* 198.

remarks the Lieutenant, "is known to your Lordships, and needeth no further rehearsal."[1]

"Another return," says Fr. Bridgett, "made on the 3rd July, 1561, gives the same list, with the same days of committal."[2]

As a member of the Privy Council, Lord Burghley had been one of those to whom in 1561 these returns of the prisoners in the Tower had been presented by the Lieutenant, and he had in fact himself been chiefly instrumental in their being placed there. Yet, in his *Execution of Justice*, in attempting to prove that the Bishops had not suffered any persecution, not only does he make no mention of their confinement for years in the Tower; but he has even the effrontery to deny that some of those actually named in the above returns had been ever placed under restraint. Thus of the Archbishop of York he says, "Yet was he not restrained of his liberty;" and of the Bishop of Exeter, that "he lived at his own liberty to the end of his life!"

From Sander's Report to Cardinal Morone, we learn that this transference of the six Bishops from private custody to the Tower had followed an attempt, made by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, to gain their consent to take part in the new services; release from confinement being promised them, if they would but agree to do so. This part of the Report, which was written in 1561, not much more than a year after their committal to the Tower, is headed: "Concerning those Bishops who are still detained in prison." In it we have the answers made by the Confessors to the proposal.

[1] Quoted by Father Bridgett, p. 39, from *R.O. Domestic Eliz.*, vol. xvii., p. 13.

[2] *Ibid.*, xviii. 3. These official returns of his prisoners, made by the Lieutenant of the Tower himself, are absolute proof of the falseness of the statement, made forty-eight years later by Andrewes, and repeated after him by Camden, that Bishop Pate of Worcester *had left the realm*. His committal to the Tower was also announced, two days only after it had taken place, by Jewel, who wrote to Martyr on May 22, 1560: "Bonner, the Monk Feckenham, *Pate*, Storey, the civilian, and Watson, are sent to prison for having obstinately refused attendance on public worship, and everywhere declaiming

We have seen that the Archbishop of York had been deprived on July the 7th, 1559—just eleven months before his committal to the Tower on the following June the 10th. Sander, who apparently had not been able to learn the precise dates, speaks of the interval as "one year and a few months"; during which, he says, the Archbishop had been "at one time left free, at another dragged back into prison." Then, "by the authority of the Queen and Council, he was offered the liberty of living where he pleased, if only he would promise to be present at the church services. This condition he would on no account accept; and, 'as for my reasons,' said he, 'for refusing—the Council has often enough heard me explain them in Parliament; and they may all be summed up in this: Whatever is contrary to the Catholic faith, is heresy; whatever is contrary to unity, is schism.' And when the visitors[1] replied that he would be free not to receive Communion: 'It is all one,' he replied, 'as far as schism is concerned, to join in it partially, or in its entirety; and therefore, not only by no word, but also by no act of mine, will I approve of any of the things you do. Nor do I want even my back to be seen where, as the heart cannot be read, scandal may be given by it.' He begged of the Queen that he might be placed with some friend; saying that otherwise he would prefer the Tower of London to any *prison*, meaning that each of the appointed places was a prison; and he added this, because the Catholics are usually given into the custody of the pseudo-bishops, whose intercourse he could not endure—there being no agreement between light and darkness, between Christ and Belial."

To the Bishop of Ely, says Sander, "release from imprisonment was offered, without the obligation of Communion, on condition that he would attend the public prayers. His answer to the visitors was, that not

against that religion which we now profess" (*Zurich Letters*, 1st series, Ep. 33). We shall continue to find Bishop Pate named in State Papers amongst the prisoners, even in the year in which he died.

[1] *I.e.*, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

even so could he satisfy his conscience; but that he begged the Queen, as he had spent all his life in fulfilling embassies, and discharging public duties for the State, to permit him to act freely in his own private life. Struck by the hesitation of this answer, the visitors deferred him to another time; at the end of which, when they again put the same question to him, he replied: 'Without wanting to dissemble, I cannot come to your prayers.'"

How little effect, indeed, the efforts of the Commissioners had produced on the two Confessors, whose answers Sander has reported so far, was proved by the excommunication, which Machyn notes to have been publicly pronounced in Bow Church, towards the end of February 1560-1, against "the late Archbishop of York" and "the late Bishop of Ely,"—both then "lying in the Tower."[1] It was indeed an act which we can only call grotesque, for the new sect set up by Elizabeth to pretend to excommunicate the venerable Prelates, who had so steadfastly refused to join it!

Of Bishop Watson of Lincoln, Sander writes: "This Prelate surpasses all of them in memory and learning. He refused the condition on which liberty was offered him, viz., of attending the services; saying that, if his conscience would allow him to take part in them, it would allow him also both to preach and to communicate. When, as being a man so learned, he was told by the visitors to offer a reason for refusing, he replied that experience had taught him not to dispute on the question of religion, without beforehand ascertaining who was to be his judge."

"Bishop Pate of Worcester, when after his deprivation he was ordered to attend the public prayers, made answer that his conscience, which was now the only consolation left him, would not suffer him to do so. On being told to give the reason, he replied: 'I am afraid to do so, lest, if I discuss it, I should incur the penalties of the law which forbids that. My resolution is to die in the faith in which I was baptized.'"

[1] *Diary*, p. 249.

"Bishop Turberville of Exeter, after being deposed from the Episcopate, refused to attend the schismatical services, pleading that it was gravely forbidden by his conscience."

"Bishop Bourne of Bath, when asked, after his dignity had been taken from him, whether he was willing to purchase back his liberty by going to the public prayers, declared that he could not lawfully perform an act, from which it might be argued that he had assented to the whole religion."

Such is the account, given us by Sander, of the firm answers made by the six Bishops who were committed to the Tower, to the Commissioners appointed to enforce the Act of Uniformity. The Bishop of Peterborough, he tells us, was not asked at this time "to attend their accursed and schismatic services, on account of his continued illness."

The Bishop of Bath, the last of the six sent to the Tower, had been only brought to London some few days before his committal, from Somersetshire, where he had been residing in ill-health at the time of his deprivation in the previous October.

From the following letter, dated May 31, 1560, we see that, although his health was evidently far from re-established, he had received from Parker and the other Ecclesiastical Commissioners an order to appear before them. The letter shows how cheerfully he set out to obey the summons, though he must have well understood the imprisonment which awaited him in London.

"Whereas I have received letters from your Grace, the last of May, for my personal appearance before your Grace and other your colleagues, within twelve days after the receipt of your Grace's letters, these be to advertise your Grace, and the rest of my Lords and Masters your colleagues, that, to all my power and strength God shall send me, I will not fail to endeavour myself with all diligence to accomplish your commandment. But the state I am in I shall beseech you to consider, which, in

body as it hath long been, and is, in many things defective, so in horses and all other furniture for my journey it is far unprovided; and therefore these be most humbly to beseech you that, in case I cannot even so justly observe the day, as your commandment requireth and my heart desireth, you will bear with my necessities, which in no wise shall proceed of any excuses, or delays, neither of lack of diligence, or good will, as God knoweth: Who preserve your Grace and all the rest of my Lords and Masters your colleagues. At Barton,[1] the last of May, 1560. Your poor orator,

"GILBERT BOURNE."[2]

It was probably during the first days after his reaching London that Bishop Bourne was seen as a prisoner by Henshaw, the Rector of Lincoln College, as the latter swore at Rome in 1570. After his committal to the Tower, as shown by the return of the Lieutenant, on June 18, Henshaw could hardly have gained access to him.

The sad condition of *close prisoners* in the Tower has been described already in speaking of the confinement there of Bishop White of Winchester in the preceding year. We there saw that prisoners so committed were kept each in their own separate cells, cut off from all communication with their fellow-sufferers, and allowed to speak to no one, unless in the Lieutenant's presence.

That the six Bishops sent to the Tower in 1560 with Abbot Feckenham and Dean Boxall had been committed as close prisoners, is clear from the fact that it was not until the following September that they received permission to meet together even for their meals. This we learn from the following letter, which, on September 4, was addressed by the Lords of the Council to Parker, as

[1] Apparently the Barton near Axbridge in Somersetshire.

[2] Kindly copied for the present writer by Mr Alfred Rogers, from MS. 114, f. 413, at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. In the Catalogue of the C.C.C. MSS. the date of this letter is given as 1566, instead of 1560; which misled Father Bridgett (p. 92) into speaking of Bishop Bourne as again at Barton in 1566. The spelling of the letter is here modernised.

the head of the Commission by whose direction the Bishops had been there imprisoned.

"After our right hearty commendations to your good lordship. Where Sir Edward Warner, Knight, Lieutenant of the Tower, hath made request unto us that such prisoners as remain in his charge, having been committed from your lordship and others for ecclesiastical causes, may be suffered to come together at their meals to two several tables; forasmuch as for our part we see no cause but that they may well enough so do, unless you shall know some occasion to the contrary, we have thought meet to refer the consideration thereof unto your lordship, praying you —in case you think as we do, that the said prisoners may be suffered to come to two tables without inconvenience— that then you do by your letter signify unto the said Lieutenant of the Tower that he do suffer them so to do, prescribing nevertheless this order unto him, that Dr Heath, Dr Boxall, Dr Pates, and Dr Feckenham be admitted in one company to one of the tables, and to the other table, Dr Thirlby, Dr Bourne, Dr Watson, and Dr Turberville; or if you shall not think fit that this liberty be given, then may you signify unto us your opinion therein, to the intent we may answer the said Lieutenant thereafter. And so we bid your good lordship right heartily well to fare. From Windsor, September 4, 1560. Your good lordship's assured loving friends,

"W. NORTHAMPTON, E. CLYNTON,
"T. PARRY, W. CECIL,
"ED. SACKFIELD."[1]

In consequence of the above, Parker, two days later, addressed the following to Sir Edward Warner, in which he appears to take credit to himself for the request which the Lords of the Council say had been made to them by the Lieutenant of the Tower.

"After my right hearty commendations. Whereupon my advertisement sent to certain of the Council concerning

[1] *Parker Correspondence*, p. 121.

the further liberty of your prisoners, and for their most comfort to be associated together, ye shall understand that they have addressed their letters of answer again to me, referring the order partly to my consideration. Whereupon if ye do conjoin at one table together Mr Doctor Heath, Dr Pates, Dr Feckenham, Dr Boxall, to be of one society; and Mr Dr Thirlby, Dr Bourne, Dr Watson, and Dr Turberville, of another; I think as this combination prescribed will not offend them, and as I trust may be done without inconvenience, so it may be your warrant, as knoweth Almighty God, who evermore preserve us all. At my house at Lambeth, this 6th of September. Your loving friend."[1]

We see from these letters that, after several months of separate confinement, the imprisoned Prelates were for a time allowed the consolation of meeting each other at their meals; though even there they were no doubt still under their gaoler's eye.

We learn, however, from other papers that this improvement in their state was not of long continuance, and that they were soon forced back again into their original close confinement.

"On the 14th June, 1562, the Lieutenant," says Father Bridgett, "writes to the Lords of the Council as follows: 'First he putteth your Lordships in remembrance that the late Bishops, with Mr Feckenham and Mr Boxall, being all eight in number, be *close and severally* kept, for the which they continually call upon him to make in their names humble suit to have more liberty; informing your Lordships therewith how troublesome it is to serve so many persons severally so long together.'[2] The above letter of the Lieutenant," remarks Father Bridgett, "is evidence that the permission" (to meet at meal-time) "was soon withdrawn, for he complains that it had been a great trouble to him to serve them separately *so long*."[3]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 122.

[2] Father Bridgett copied this from the original document. (*Domestic Eliz.*, vol. xxiii., p. 40).

[3] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, pp. 39 and 40.

When, therefore, the imprisoned Bishops made this second petition for "more liberty" in the June of 1562, it is clear that for a long time previously they had been again confined, even at meal-times, each one to his own cell. In fact, from a letter of Bishop Quadra's to Cardinal de Granvelle, we learn that this reconfinement of them had taken place more than a year before, in the April of 1561.

"Here," wrote Bishop Quadra on April 20th, 1561, "they have more strictly confined the imprisoned Bishops, forbidding them to speak to any one; because they have discovered that one of them had written to a friend of his that they were hoping soon to be set free through favour of the Pope, who was sending a Nuncio here, and of our lord the King, who was assisting them; and for these three days a search has been proceeding so strict as to cause terror."[1]

Some further information, as to the condition of the Bishops a very little after the date of this letter, is obtained from a memorandum of recent occurrences in England (preserved in the Vatican Archives, and apparently in the handwriting of Sander), in which the latest event mentioned is the burning by lightning of the steeple of St Paul's on June 4, 1561.

In this the writer says: "The Bishops and other Catholics are confined in prison quite separately: books and various writings of their own regarding the heresies of these times have been taken from them. Other persons nevertheless are not prevented from being able to get to them. The Bishops of Chester, London, Worcester, and Lincoln, and the Dean of St Paul's, London, are said to be living in great poverty; since those, who used to support them, have now been themselves put into confinement. The number of those seized upon this last occasion, is thought to amount to about two hundred. If it be thought well to send something to them, this may be managed, either through John Clement, Doctor of Medicine, who is at Antwerp; or through Mr Maurice (Clenock) at Louvain:

[1] *Collection de Chroniques Belges*, t. ii., p. 553.

for these will take care to send the money back, if it cannot be safely delivered."[1]

"Prison discipline," writes Father Bridgett, "was by no means uniform in those days. Sometimes prisoners were allowed or could purchase great liberty, and boarded themselves; sometimes they dined at a common table, paying as at a modern *table d'hôte*; while some lived in a most wretched fashion, on the proceeds of the alms box. The six Bishops in the Tower had not been allowed to range freely within their enclosure, nor to meet and converse even for an hour. They were shut up in separate cells even at their meals, and though waited on by their own servants, had to board themselves, and that too at exorbitant prices."[2]

It would seem that the five Confessors named in the above Memorandum had been reduced to the wretched condition here spoken of by Father Bridgett, of living on the proceeds of the alms box.

So serious, moreover, in other ways had become their situation by the latter part of 1561, that the friends of the imprisoned Bishops entertained grave fears even for their lives, and fully expected to see them led out to execution. On October the 25th, the Spanish ambassador wrote as follows to Cardinal de Granvelle: "They tell me that Cecil and the Chancellor are urging the Queen strongly to put to death one or other of these imprisoned Bishops, thinking that the time has now come when they may do it safely."[3]

Whether the Spanish ambassador had been correctly informed or not, as to the pressure put at that particular moment on the Queen, there is no doubt that the more fanatical amongst the Protestants had been long clamouring for the blood of the imprisoned Bishops; as is proved by a letter addressed to Cecil on October 26, 1559, by Knox's fellow-preacher, Goodman; in which the latter

[1] From a transcript made by Father Stevenson, S.J., of Vatican MS. 64, t. 28, f. 335.

[2] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 40.

[3] *Collection de Chroniques Belges*, t. ii., p. 638.

declares that it "sticketh much in the hearts of many the suffering of those bloody Bishops, and known murderers of God's people and your dear brethren, to live; upon whom God hath expressly pronounced the sentence of death; for the execution of which He hath committed the sword in your hands, who are now placed in authority."[1]

The language used by even some of Elizabeth's own Bishops, for instance Cox and Pilkington,[2] fell not far short of the above.

What answer, if any, was given by the Council to the request made to it, on behalf of the imprisoned Prelates, by the Lieutenant of the Tower on June 14, 1562, a break in the Register of the Council's Acts at that very time hinders us from knowing. Exactly six weeks afterwards, however, we find recorded in the Council Register the following peremptory order *for the more rigorous confinement of the Bishops*:—

"This day, Sir Edward Warner, Knight, Lieutenant of the Tower, being called before the Lords of the Council, had commandment to cause the late Bishops, now prisoners in the Tower, to be *more straitly shut up* than they have been accustomed, so as they may not have such common conference as they have used to have, whereby much trouble and disquietness might, if their wishes and practices might take place, grow in the common wealth, to the great disturbance thereof."[3]

We must not fail here to notice that, amongst "the Lords of the Council," whose names are registered as present, when the Lieutenant of the Tower was on this occasion brought before them, was "*Mr Secretary*," *i.e.*, Sir William Cecil himself. His name we have also already

[1] *Calendar, Foreign*, October 26, 1559.

[2] Some words have been quoted from Cox's sermon at the opening of the Parliament of 1559. Hardly anything could be more violent than Pilkington's ribald abuse of the imprisoned Bishops in his *Burning of St Paul's*.

[3] Acts of Privy Council, July 26, 1562. On July 28, a similar order was given by the Council to the Warden of the Fleet, respecting the confinement of the Bishop of Chester, Dr Cole, and other Catholic prisoners in his charge.

seen appended to the letter of September 4, 1560, in which the Council regulated for the meals of the imprisoned Bishops. Yet this is the self-same Cecil, who afterwards, as Lord Burghley was not ashamed (in words already quoted) to deny, with reference to Archbishop Heath and Bishop Turberville, that their liberty had ever been restrained; though they both of them are named, as then imprisoned in the Tower, in the letter he had signed himself.

Deliberate falsehood, such as this, displays the utter worthlessness of any of Lord Burghley's statements as regards the treatment of the Bishops.

We have no evidence of any relaxation as to the close confinement of the six Bishops in the Tower from this time until their removal, more than a year later, into various Protestant Bishops' houses.

Meantime we must turn back a little, to see the efforts made on their behalf by the Pope and by some of the Catholic Sovereigns.

As the news of what had taken place in England, and of the unjust deposition and imprisonment of an entire episcopate by the despotic action of the civil power, came to be spread abroad, it was inevitable that it should have excited the indignation of the Catholics of other lands, and have enlisted their warm sympathy with the holy sufferers; and if no effective combination was able to be formed against Elizabeth and her government, it was solely due to the selfish and conflicting interests which divided other powers.

When Pope Paul IV. died, on August the 18th, 1559, Elizabeth's persecuting measures had not yet been fully carried into execution; and though many of the Bishops had already been deprived, there were still some in possession of their Sees. The Queen's excommunication was indeed already spoken of, though opposed by King Philip II.; but the death of the Pontiff necessarily put a stop to any immediate action on the part of the Holy See.[1]

[1] We need hardly here repeat Lingard's refutation of the oft-told

Pius IV., his successor, who was elected Pope on the following December 26, left no means untried to win over to the faith the misguided Queen. Early in 1560, he despatched, as Nuncio to England, Vincent Parpaglia, Abbot of San Salute, bearing a letter to Elizabeth dated May 5, and filled with expressions of his affectionate anxiety for her salvation, and desire "to provide likewise for her honour, and the establishment of her kingdom."[2] Having arrived, however, in Flanders, the Nuncio found himself refused permission to enter England, and so unable to fulfil the chief object of his mission.

On June the 30th, the Venetian ambassador to the French court wrote to the Doge and Senate, saying that Elizabeth's ambassador, Throckmorton, had told his secretary that the Queen, "having heard of the despatch to her from Rome of the Abbot of San Salute, and of his arrival in Flanders, did not choose him to cross until he first sent to show her his instructions; as, if the Pope sent to pray her to assist at the Council, she would willingly give him audience, having already determined, should the Council be free and universal, to send thither all her Bishops and submit to it; but if the said Abbot had been sent to England for other purposes, namely, at the suggestion and in favour of the Papists in England, she did not choose that he should cross, looking upon him as a scandalous person who willingly intermeddled in negotiations, and under this pretence of treating about

fable that Elizabeth's hostility to Catholics was due to Paul IV.'s refusal to recognise her accession, on the ground of her illegitimacy. This is contradicted by a letter, of February 14, 1559, from Sir Edward Carne himself, Mary's ambassador at Rome; who, though not re-appointed by Elizabeth, wrote to her to say, that a Cardinal had informed him that the Pope wished to have some one accredited from her. The good will the Pope entertained to Elizabeth and the English had determined him to attempt nothing against either, "unless the occasion be given first thence" (Lingard, vol. vi., p. 6, note, see also Lingard's *History* abridged by Dom. H. N. Birt, O.S.B., p. 363).

[2] The Pope's letter to Elizabeth is given in Tierney's *Dodd*, vol. ii., App. No. XLVII.

religion, might perhaps intermeddle in other matters, which would not please her."[1]

The above shows sufficiently how little disposed Elizabeth was to listen to the fatherly admonitions of the Pontiff, especially on behalf of her persecuted Catholic subjects. "She knows," wrote Bishop Quadra some three weeks later, "that he (the Nuncio) is coming at the instance of the French, and in league with some of the Catholics here, all of whom have consequently *been arrested.* As regards religion, she is so determined that in my opinion nothing is to be hoped for."[2] Nevertheless a month earlier the good Bishop had written more hopefully: "I have been recently informed by the Abbot of Westminster, now a prisoner in the Tower, that his (the Nuncio's) coming is at the solicitation of a certain Englishman named Englefield,[3] now in Rome, who was a member of the Council of the late Queen Mary, and of the late ambassador of that Queen in Rome,[4] who have laid before his Holiness the state of religious affairs here, and attribute the present changes rather to certain ministers now in favour with the Queen than to the Queen herself. In my opinion the coming of the Abbot will please many people, and displease those of the contrary faith."[5]

In attempting to establish communications with Elizabeth, one thing which the Pontiff had especially at heart was the obtaining the liberation of the imprisoned Bishops; and for this purpose he appealed also for the intervention of the King of Spain. On August 19, 1560, the Pope directed his secretary to address the following instructions to the Bishop of Terracina, his Nuncio at the court of Philip II.:—

"The courier, who was to have left three days ago, not having yet set out, his Holiness has directed me to

[1] *Venetian Calendar*, Giovanni Michiel, Venetian Ambassador in France, June 30, 1560.

[2] *Spanish Calendar*, Bishop Quadra to the King, July 25, 1560.

[3] Sir Francis Englefield, with whom Sander went abroad in 1559.

[4] Sir Edward Carne.

[5] *Spanish Calendar*, June 28, 1560.

add this present letter, in order to inform your lordship that, there having been sent from England the enclosed list of Prelates and of other persons of consideration—of whom some have been imprisoned, some sent into exile by the Queen of England, because of their being good, faithful, and true Catholics—his Holiness desires your lordship to use pressure with his Majesty in order that he may make earnest representations to the said Queen for the liberation of those poor imprisoned ones; and with reference to those who are in exile—since the greater part of them, and perhaps all, are in the Flemish country—that his Majesty may cause them to be provided with some assistance and support to enable them to live."[1]

In the Vatican Archives there is still preserved a list of English sufferers clearly belonging to this time, and apparently the very list referred to in this letter as having been received from England. At the head of it stand the names of the fifteen English Bishopries, which the *deaths* of their occupants had by that time rendered vacant. Next are mentioned ten Bishops, who are declared to be "confined in prison": namely, those of York, London, Bath, Exeter, Lincoln, Ely, Worcester, Chester, Peterborough, and Man.[2] The name of each of these is followed by the words, "*est incarceratus.*"

[1] Archivio Vaticano Registro di lettere per Spagna, R.O. Roman Transcripts, 1556-1565.

[2] This is the only mention of the Bishop of Man, as having been imprisoned. We have seen already that he did not die in prison, and if he ever was confined, he must have been very soon released. Nevertheless, the fact of this list having mentioned *ten* Bishops, as "confined in prison," explains the erroneous statement made a year later, in another paper, to the effect that "*ten* of the surviving Bishops are prisoners in the Tower of London" (*de li quali* 10 *ne sono prigioni ne la Torre di Londra*), a fact which was never true at any time. The statement occurs in a paper, addressed to Cardinal Morone by some member, it seems, of the Roman Curia, who suggests the immediate appointment of some of the English exiles to five of the fifteen vacant Sees, and the sending of these new Bishops to the Council of Trent. The above-mentioned list, and the paper to Card. Morone, were transcribed by Father Stevenson, S.J., from the Vatican Archives (64, t. 28, f. 281, and f. 167).

The Bishop of St Asaph is marked as *absent*; and in the summer of 1560 he was at Naples in the house of his Order (the Theatine), having reached Rome with Clenock about the end of March. The See of Llandaff is described as "vacant, because its Bishop has fallen from religion" (*quia episcopus deficit a religione*). Next follow the names of sixteen ecclesiastics in exile for their religion, who stand in need of some relief.

The compiler of the list concludes with the remark, that he makes no mention of Dr Maurice Clenock and Sir Edward Carne—"both of them in Rome"—being sure that the Holy Father "will remember them." Sir Edward Carne died in Rome on January 21, 1561.

When the above communication was despatched by Pope Pius IV. to his Nuncio in Spain on August 19, he seems not yet to have given up the hope that Elizabeth might give admittance to his envoy. Next month, however, the following despatch was sent, on September 17, to the two Nuncios of Spain and Portugal, who both happened at the moment to be in attendance on King Philip at Toledo.

"Our Lord (the Pope), seeing that the Nuncio, who was to have passed over into England, has found that sea more troubled and difficult than was expected, owing to the Queen's obstinacy in not allowing him to cross, has caused him to be written to that he will have to return here. It will, however, be your duty all the more earnestly to recommend those poor Bishops and other imprisoned and exiled English Catholics to his Majesty; the former, that he may procure their liberation, and the latter, that he may give them some help to enable them to live."[1]

On October 5, St Charles Borromeo, the Pope's nephew, and recently made Cardinal Secretary of State, wrote to Monsign. Santa Croce (the Nuncio to Portugal, but then still at the Court of Philip):—

[1] R.O. Roman Transcripts, 1556-1565. Registro di lettere per Spagna "Ali Monsori di Terracina et Santa Croce, Nuntii. 17 Settembre 1560."

"Our Lord (the Pope) has heard with the greatest satisfaction that his Majesty still hopes for something good with reference to the affairs of England, and that he is continuing to press the matter; and in order still more to assist and favour the intentions and resolution of his Majesty, he has caused his Nuncio, the Abbot of San Salute, to be recalled, leaving now this whole undertaking to his Majesty, and continually praying God that it may turn to his honour."[1]

This letter of St Charles does but confirm what we are told by all his biographers, as to the deep sympathy he felt for the Catholic sufferers in England.

The following, written to Cardinal Morone from Brussels, by Abbot Parpaglia of San Salute, before setting out on his return, is of interest, as showing that, though unable to effect anything with reference to their liberation, he had, at least, succeeded in communicating with the Bishops in their prisons.

"Brussels, 13th of October 1560. What remains for me to say, with reference to the Bishops and others imprisoned in England, is that I have always made them understand how much our Lord (the Pope) has at heart their liberation, and the continual efforts which are being made to help them; also how eager is your illustrious lordship to procure every favour for them from his Holiness and from all the Princes friendly to that Queen; and this has been a great consolation to them; nor will I fail to have them informed that his Holiness has recalled me for the very reason that my residing here has been judged to be prejudicial rather than advantageous to their liberation; but that from Rome the same pains shall be taken, as would have been taken here; and I will be careful to leave them comforted as far as I am able; since I would not have them, on account of my departure hence, consider their deliverance despaired of: nor can I believe that our Lord God keeps alive in them that constancy,

[1] R.O., *ibid.*

which He has given them, in the true religion, except to make them a striking example to all Christendom."[1]

No doubt King Philip II. was really desirous of carrying out the Holy Father's wishes, though his own irresolution, joined to other causes, hindered him from taking any effectual action. Whatever hopes he may at first have entertained of influencing Elizabeth, were soon shown to be illusive, and on March 17, 1561, we find him writing to Bishop Quadra :—

"Since she has been Queen, she has never yet done anything according to our advice, or for our satisfaction towards the amending of religion. . . . The ends we have in view . . . are to restore religion and liberate the Prelates and other Catholics who are in prison. . . . His Holiness, knowing of the need of the imprisoned Bishops, wishes to send them some succour by your hands, and has asked us to instruct you to receive the money which will be sent for this purpose, and help them without its being known there that the money comes through you. We, therefore, direct you, if any money is sent to you from his Holiness for this purpose, to receive it and distribute it in conformity with his orders, and with all due secrecy to avoid unpleasantness, and I shall be greatly gratified thereat. His Holiness writes us that he has appointed the Abbot Martinengo to carry the Bull of the Council to the Queen, and has given him orders, when he arrives in Flanders, to be governed by the directions of the Bishop of Arras."[2]

We see from the above that the Pope, in spite of the failure of his first attempt to open communications with Elizabeth, was now despatching to her another Nuncio, who was to bear to her the Bull, which he had issued on the previous November 29, summoning the Council of

[1] R. O., *ibid.*; *Biblioteca Vaticano, Vat. Lat.*, 6409, f. 58.

[2] *Spanish Calendar.* The King to Bishop Quadra, March 17, 1561. The Bishop of Arras was Anthony Perrenot de Granvelle, one of Philip II.'s Councillors of State, made Cardinal about the date of this letter.

Trent to reassemble on the approaching Easter Sunday of 1561. Abbot Martinengo arrived, indeed, like his predecessor, in Flanders, but, like him, was allowed to go no further.

Indirectly this fresh mission from the Pontiff did but increase, instead of lessen, the sufferings of the captive Bishops. On April 12, Bishop Quadra had written to his royal master, telling him that he had conveyed information of the efforts he was making on their behalf "to the Archbishop of York, to Viscount Montague, and to two or three more of their principal Doctors; and it had the effect," he added, "of greatly consoling and reassuring them."[1] Only eight days after this, however, he was obliged to write, as we have seen,[2] on April the 20th, that the poor Bishops had been more strictly confined than ever, in consequence of the intercepted letter which had revealed their hopes from the Nuncio's approaching visit.

The official minutes of a meeting of the Privy Council held on May 1, 1561,[3] have preserved to us the insulting reasons (communicated by order of the Council, to Bishop Quadra, for transmission to the Nuncio), on which the ministers of Elizabeth had come to the conclusion that the Papal envoy must be refused permission either to enter the country, or to deliver letter or message from the Pope.

In spite, however, both of this repeated rejection of his advances, and of the general expectation amongst Catholics of the excommunication of Elizabeth, the Holy Father still showed himself unwilling to pronounce sentence on her, till all other means had failed.

For the sake, therefore, of gaining fuller information as to the best course to adopt; and, if possible, of ascertaining the views of the prisoners themselves; Cardinal

[1] *Spanish Calendar*, April 12, 1561.

[2] See page 206.

[3] Printed in Tierney's *Dodd*, vol. ii., App. No. XLVIII. Bishop Quadra's account of it is given in a letter written by him to the King (*Spanish Calendar*, May 5, 1561).

Morone—to whom, as "Cardinal Protector of England," the interests of English Catholics were especially entrusted —addressed in the summer of 1561 (evidently by the Pope's desire), the following letter to one of the chief Catholic noblemen still at liberty in England. In consequence, apparently, of the secrecy which had to be observed, the name of the nobleman in question does not figure in the letter; but the circumstances seem to make it clear that he can have been no other than the Viscount Montague, of whom Bishop Quadra speaks in his letter just quoted, of April 12.

Not only had Lord Montague been one of the three ambassadors whom Mary had despatched to Rome to tender the submission of the country to Pope Julius III., but under Elizabeth he was one of the few lay peers who had had the courage to oppose the Acts of Supremacy and of Uniformity. Even after she had changed the religion of the country, Elizabeth found it politic to tolerate Lord Montague's fidelity to the ancient faith; and early in 1560, at a moment when it was of great consequence to her to conciliate the King of Spain, she had despatched this well-known Catholic nobleman to him on a special embassy, from which he had returned some months before the time we speak of.[1] He was thus well known both at the courts of Rome and Spain, and of his devoted attachment to the Archbishop of York through all the long years of his imprisonment, there will be occasion to speak later. Thus everything combines to point out Lord Montague as the personage to whom Cardinal Morone addressed the following letter, which is of special interest to us, as showing how highly the heroism of the imprisoned Prelates was appreciated by the Holy See from the very beginning of their contest.

"The protectorship and care of the English," wrote

[1] Sir Thomas Chamberlain was joined with Lord Montague in this embassy, and remained in Spain, as resident ambassador, after the latter's recall. Of him Lord Montague complained to Bishop Quadra, before setting out from England, that he was "a man whose sole office was to spy upon him."—*Spanish Calendar*, January 27, 1560.

Morone, "which has been entrusted to me by our most holy Lord—keeping my soul, as it does, ever on the strain in these most troubled times — obliges me to confer frequently with his Holiness, who is most anxious for the salvation of that kingdom, as well as with other upright men acquainted with it, and to inquire and consider diligently what may be for the interest of the good and of the Catholics. For this reason, since I cannot write to all those who have at present been consigned to prison for their devotion to the holy Roman Church, I have thought it in keeping with my office now to address this letter to you, who are well known for your picty and influence amongst the English, to express to you the tender and compassionate feelings which our most holy Lord, Pope Pius IV., entertains for all of you Catholics and for that kingdom, continually endeavouring with his whole heart to secure their safety and deliverance.

"Understand, then, in the first place, that we have a Sovereign Pontiff, who every day gives thanks to Almighty God for the great constancy in the faith, which He has deigned to grant to so many holy men in England so effectually, that for the glory of His Name, and to defend the honour of Holy Mother Church and the dignity of the Apostolic See, they suffer themselves not only to be stripped of their goods, but even to be held fast in prison not without danger of their lives; and for their safety and that of the kingdom his Holiness will never spare any cost or labour. If he has deferred attempting it as yet, and still defers it, this has been chiefly for the very sake of those who have been cast into prison; for he sees that embassies from this Holy See have always led to injury to them, and on this account he would not still more harm them by any vain attempt. If, however, as easily may happen, there shall be offered from elsewhere any hope of saving them, his Holiness will not fail to take advantage of it. And if to them and to the others who are on the spot, any means of remedying the evil shall seem to suggest itself, and they shall give information to his Holiness, he will not delay to adopt it, and to draw

against the enemies of Christ and Holy Church the swords which it belongs to him to wield.

"In the meantime, if those holy Bishops are in any want, his Holiness will of his own generosity and compassion provide for their necessities; for he desires nothing more than to secure their safety and that of their most noble kingdom. As to the manner in which the wishes of the imprisoned Bishops and yourself may be conveyed to us, it will be for you to arrange; for we believe it may easily be possible to ascertain the opinion at all events of the Archbishop of York, from which we think the others will not differ. This, therefore, you must by all means ascertain, and have notified to his Holiness."

The Cardinal, then, mentions how important the Pope considers it for the welfare of England that Mary, Queen of Scots (whose first husband, Francis II. of France, had died not long before), should marry some Catholic prince; and—since King Philip of Spain objects to her marrying his son Charles—he suggests a match between her and Prince Ferdinand, son to the Emperor; thinking that this will encourage the English Catholics, and deter the heretics from carrying out their projects. On this matter, as on all others, his Holiness will be glad, he says, to learn *his* (Lord Montague's?) opinion, and also to receive news of his condition. After mentioning the Pope's express desire that all the Catholics should be informed of his constant readiness to assist them, "whether at home or abroad, in prison or in exile," the Cardinal continues:—

"Meantime he exhorts you all, and you especially who are enjoying liberty, to salute in his Holiness's own name (if in any way it can be done), those fellow-captives of yours who for the sake of Holy Church are now serving God in England both in the spirit and in the body, and to exhort them to continue firmly in the course they have begun, by which means they will not only gain from his Holiness and from the whole Church the praise in this world they deserve, but they will receive in life eternal an imperishable crown from Him who will never die again, and who for us underwent the torment of the cross.

"I myself, by reason of the affection which I ever bore to Cardinal Pole of happy memory, and by reason also of the protectorship of your nation, which has, as I have said, been intrusted to me, will to the best of my ability, whether in public or in private, be at the service of you all, and especially of your noble and distinguished self. Farewell!"[1]

The copy of this letter, now preserved in the Vatican, bears no date. It is shown, however, to have been written on July 21, 1561, by the mention of that date in the following letter, written to Cardinal Morone, evidently as a reply to the above, by Dr Maurice Clenock, then in Flanders, on November 2, following. To Dr Clenock, as it seems, the Cardinal's letter had been first confided for conveyance to the English nobleman (whom we take to have been Lord Montague), to whom it was addressed. The latter had apparently felt it too dangerous to commit to writing any account of his fulfilment of the Cardinal's commission; and the fear, felt by Dr Clenock, that his letter might fall into the hands of spies, explains the cautious obscurity which he observes in his reply:—

"To the most illustrious Prince and most Reverend Cardinal John Morone, deserving of all praise and honour, Maurice Clenock, greeting!

"Having read the letter which your Excellency, on July 21, had sent to Louvain regarding the affairs of our common weal, it has seemed to me right to beg you in your kindness not to disdain to receive an answer from the pen of another, and not of him to whom your Highness's letter had been written, for various reasons which your great prudence will easily enable you to judge and understand.

"As to the opinion of those who are detained in prison with reference to the matters mentioned by you, after having tried to discover it once in vain; on making a second

[1] Vatican Archives, 64, t. 28, f. 96. Transcribed by Father Stevenson, S.J.

attempt, we received the following reply, not in writing (for that they dared not give on any account), but through a trustworthy messenger, viz., that there is nothing so much needed as that something should be done to hinder the fall of the true faith and of the Catholic Church already tottering, and to choke the growing heresy, which at present, partly through the support of those in authority, partly through its pretended assumption of obedience, is daily spreading far and wide to the great danger of the souls of all. Seeing this, they expressly wish and desire that (without any consideration for themselves), simply and as speedily as possible, that shall be done which shall seem most conducive to promote God's honour and His true religion, exclaiming: 'Fiat, Fiat, Fiat;' testifying how ardently they wish it by the frequent repetition of this word.

"They did not dare, however, to answer more fully or distinctly; for no one is allowed to visit them, nor could they without danger explain their whole mind regarding matters of such moment. For they are frequently examined with reference to letters and secret messages, which are supposed to reach them. Nor does it seem necessary to them to explain this matter fully, since the state and condition of the whole kingdom is known publicly to all, so that, at all events as far as concerns the present purpose, there is nothing which any intelligent man can fail to see. By this reply they plainly seem to show that they neither wish, nor think it right, that any serviceable or advantageous scheme, which offered hopes of re-establishing religion, should be discarded or deferred on *their* account. For they would rather, to the destruction of their own bodies, urge on the rebuilding of the Church, than delay its restoration through desire for this life; and they believe that their joy and happiness from the hope of so great a good to come, will far exceed their sufferings from their own danger.

"As to the proposed match with the Emperor's son Ferdinand, it does not seem from their replies that they disapprove of it. But this they beg and entreat, viz., that

every effort and endeavour be directed to the recalling the kingdom to holy religion and the faith; whether this be done by means of this marriage, or in any other way. For *His* interests are now at stake, to whose Will all human things must yield. . . .

"We place all our hopes in the unfeigned compassion of the Holy Father and your Highness. . . . By this hope we are all of us cheered and encouraged, those especially who are bound in the chains of the Lord; since, from this communication to them of your purposes, they well understand the great care and zeal with which both his Holiness and your compassionate self are watching and labouring in this cause. Louvain, 2nd of November, 1561. Your illustrious lordship's ever most devoted servant." [1]

The reply thus transmitted from the imprisoned Prelates, by which they implored the Holy Father, without considering the consequences to themselves, to proceed, if necessary, even to the excommunication of the Queen, reveals to us the real Martyr's spirit with which they were animated; lying, as they then did, completely at the mercy of Elizabeth. There is in fact abundant proof that the danger they were in was very great. We have seen from the ambassador's letters that, at the very time they made the brave answer above given, persons were not wanting to urge their being brought to execution; and very soon fresh Acts were passed bringing still nearer to them the extreme penalty of the law.

Writing to the King on November 15, 1562, Bishop Quadra says: "The Chancellor has this week given orders for Parliament to be summoned on the 6th January. . . . In the last Parliament" (held in 1559), "they enacted that the first infraction of the statute then passed should be punishable by fine, the second by imprisonment, and the third by death; and this is the reason that these Bishops and other imprisoned Catholics have not yet been condemned to be executed. Now, however, they will arrange so that this may be done, if God be not pleased

[1] Vatican Archives, Arm. LXIV., t. 28, f. 62.

to frustrate the agreement which I say is now contemplated."[1]

"The preachers here," he wrote a little later, "in every sermon incite the people to behead the Papists, and Cecil himself and his gang never say anything else."[2]

And again, on January 14, 1563: "On Tuesday last Parliament was opened, and the burden of the sermons, both in St Paul's and in the presence of the Queen at Westminster, was principally to persuade them '*to kill the caged wolves*,' by which they meant the Bishops; and really it looks as if they would do something of the sort."[3]

The preacher at Westminster on this occasion was Nowell, the new Dean of St Paul's; whilst Day, Provost of Eton, preached at the same time in St Paul's at the opening of Convocation.

The increased penalties decreed by this second Parliament of Elizabeth for refusal of the supremacy oath are thus summed up by Father Bridgett: "The first refusal of the oath became *præmunire*, the second *high treason*. The oath could be tendered a second time to all who had held ecclesiastical office in the reign of Henry, Edward, or Mary. The penalties for defending the power of the Sovereign Pontiff were also increased. The first offence was *præmunire*, the second *high treason*."[4]

This persecuting law, by which the Bishops might at once be called upon again to take the oath—and then, three months after their refusal (if they still declined it), be ordered out to die the death of traitors—naturally did not pass without some opposition; and the Earl of Northumberland (B. Thomas Percy), and Lord Montague spoke against it in the Lords, and Mr Atkinson, a "student of the Inner Temple," in the House of Commons.[5]

Whilst the Bill was still in its earlier stages, "I am given to understand," wrote Bishop Quadra, "that the heretics,

[1] *Spanish Calendar*, November 15, 1562.

[2] *Ibid.*, January 10, 1563.

[3] *Ibid.*, January 14, 1563.

[4] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 29, note.

[5] For the speeches of Lord Montague and Mr Atkinson, see Strype, *Annals*, vol. i., pp. 259, 263.

having proposed a penal Act against the Papists who refused to accept the new religion, and the Lords having to vote upon the question, the Earl of Northumberland said that he thought the Act was neither just nor desirable, and that the heretics should be satisfied to enjoy the Bishoprics and benefices of the others without wishing to cut off their heads as well. He said when they had beheaded the clergy, they would claim to do the same to the lay nobles; and he was moved by his conscience to say that he was of opinion that so rigorous an Act should not be passed."[1] The Earl's own beheadal nine years later, after being offered his life if he would but accept the new religion, proved him a true prophet.

On hearing that the Bill had passed the Commons, Quadra wrote on February 20: "They say that on the 1st of April they will demand the oath of the Bishops who are in the Tower, and that those who will not take it must die, which I do not doubt, unless God finds some remedy for it. They (the Bishops) are very joyful awaiting Our Lord's will."[2]

On April the 10th the Act received the royal sanction, and on the 24th of the same month we find Quadra sorrowfully writing: "This week they began to demand the oath from the Catholic Bishops in accordance with the new Act passed in Parliament recently, and the Bishops of London and Lincoln and Doctors Cole and Storey[3] have been summoned for Monday next. After them will come the rest, and there is no doubt some will die. I am much more afflicted at this misfortune than at all the insults and injuries I have received here, as I see the great danger the Catholic religion will suffer from the death of these men, and still more if from faintheartedness some of them were to take the oath. I am grieved at this naturally, nor can I help feeling deep distress that the blame of it all is

[1] *Spanish Calendar*, January 27, 1563. The Earl of Northumberland had been prevented from attending the Parliament of 1559, which had passed the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity.

[2] *Ibid.*, February 20, 1563.

[3] B. John Storey, martyred in 1571.

universally laid to your Majesty, in whom these good people had placed all their hopes except in God; not because I had promised anything specifically in your Majesty's name, but because they entertained these hopes before I came. I have tried to sustain them in their confidence by all the least compromising means in my power and I cannot therefore help being moved to compassion by seeing an end so wretched. I nevertheless supplicate you, for love of our Lord, to receive in good part what I now write with the freedom and fidelity I owe as a servant and vassal of your Majesty, who would fail in his duty, if from fear of giving offence he neglected to say thus much." [1]

Things did not proceed, however, as fast as the good Spanish Prelate feared; and in the end the irresolution of the Queen herself, joined to political considerations, hindered the Act from being carried out to the extremity intended by its framers. A little later the ambassador wrote as follows, on May the 9th: "Last week a commission was issued to summon for trial four of the Catholic prisoners, two Bishops—of London and Lincoln—and two Doctors—Cole . . . and Storey. The commission has not yet been signed by the Queen; as when they took it to her, she said she would sign it another day at her convenience." [2]

All this shows, however, the great danger into which the Bishops had been brought; and, if their lives were not then actually taken, it was due to the intervention made, at the Pope's request, not only by the King of Spain, but also by the Emperor Ferdinand I. of Germany, as is shown by the following from a letter of Philip II. to Bishop Quadra, written on June 15, 1563.

"I am much grieved at the Edict that the Queen has got out of the Parliament against those, who will not acknowledge her as Supreme Head of the Anglican Church, for the danger in which it places the Bishops and other Catholics; and I note how they had already begun with

[1] *Spanish Calendar*, April 24, 1563. [2] *Ibid.*, May 9, 1563.

the Bishop of London and others. I am glad to see the representations which the Emperor ordered you to make in their favour, although I fear it will be of small avail; but it displays his great goodness and Christian feeling.

"I have also thought well to write to the Queen about it to support you, as you will see by the enclosed copy. You will make use of it, in the manner most likely to produce good effect."

Enclosed with the above was a letter from Philip II. to Queen Elizabeth, "of credence, in favour of Bishop Quadra, begging her favour for the imprisoned Bishops and other Catholics," dated "Madrid, 15th June 1563."[1]

From a translation, made at the time, of a letter written to Elizabeth by the Emperor on September the 24th, 1563, Father Bridgett quotes the following: "We were right glad for to understand that your Grace did accept, in very good part, the letters which we sent unto your Grace certain months afore this. In the which we did heartily require your Grace that you would not execute any rigorous langour upon the Bishops in prison, and the subjects of your realm which profess the Catholic religion."[2]

"The Queen," continues Father Bridgett, "replied 3rd November, that it was a matter of great moment for her to act so gently with those who had so insolently acted against her laws and the quiet of her subjects, amongst whom the chief were those who, during the reign of her father and brother, offered the doctrine to others which they now so obstinately reject. These men she had spared at his request, but not without offending her own people."[3]

The following is Rishton's account of the intervention of the Emperor, and of its small success. "Letters, too," he writes, "at this time were brought to Elizabeth from the Catholic Sovereigns, and especially from the Emperor

[1] *Spanish Calendar*, June 15, 1563.

[2] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 43. Father Bridgett quotes from *P. R. O. Dom. Eliz.*, Addenda, vol. xxviii., No. 58 v.

[3] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 43; from *P. R. O. Foreign*, 1361, p. 181.

Ferdinand, who in most affectionate terms entreated her not to forsake the fellowship, in matters of faith and religion, of all Christian princes, and even of her own forefathers; not to set her own opinion, and the opinion of certain men who were of yesterday, neither many nor learned, above the judgment of the Church. If, however, she had made up her mind to continue in the sect she had adopted, in spite of the decision of the Sovereign Pontiff and a General Council, or the example of her Christian fellow-Sovereigns, that in that case she would at least, out of her natural kindliness and goodness, proceed no further against those learned and pious men, the Catholic Bishops, who were in her prisons, but rather set them free, seeing that they had done nothing against her Majesty or against the State; the only offence laid to their charge being their perseverance in the communion, and their profession of the ancient faith, which is the faith of all nations, and which, said the Emperor, 'is also mine.' Lastly, he earnestly begs of her to let them and the other Catholics have the use of some of the Churches in the kingdom, wherein they may meet together for the worship of God, according to the rites of the Catholic religion. But even he could gain nothing, and matters in England went daily from bad to worse."[1]

Soon after receiving from King Philip the letter above mentioned on behalf of the imprisoned Prelates, good Bishop Quadra died at a country house near Windsor on August 24, 1563; worn out by his labours to support and befriend the afflicted English Catholics, and by the ill-treatment which his efforts had brought upon him from the Government of Elizabeth. "He died," wrote a member of his household to the King, "in great grief that he should drop from his work just when he hoped to succeed. He expired with the words, 'I can do no more.'"[2]

Meantime, at Trent, in the June of the same year, the

[1] *Continuation of Sander's History of Anglican Schism*, translated by Lewis, p. 292.

[2] *Spanish Calendar.* Luiz de Paz to the King, August 26, 1563. See also *Parker Correspondence*, p. 187, letter from Cecil to Parker.

question of excommunicating Elizabeth by a decree of the General Council had been raised, the desire of the imprisoned English Bishops for some decisive action having been communicated to the Fathers. The chief reason, Cardinal Pallavicino tells us, of the abandonment of the proposal was the fear that Elizabeth would be infuriated by it "to make slaughter of the few remaining Bishops."[1]

Nothing could, however, show more clearly the heart-felt sympathy of the Fathers of the Council for the holy Confessors in their sufferings than the following letter signed by the four Cardinal-Presidents of the Council, on August 9, and addressed to St Charles Borromeo, as Cardinal Secretary of State to the Holy Father.

"We have been entreated to recommend earnestly to the compassion of our Lord [the Pope] those poor Englishmen, who are imprisoned in England on account of their religion, having been informed that they are greatly suffering from hunger, having no one to assist them. Since it is impossible for us to remain inactive in a case so deserving of pity and compassion, and concerning persons of such merit, we beg His Holiness to deign for the love of God to bear our prayer in mind that some provision may be made for their relief, such as his goodness shall deem fitting; as I, Morone, know he has done at other times. The ambassador of the Catholic King to that Queen will be the best means to secure its faithful and secret accomplishment. . . . Trent, 9th of August, 1563.

"His most Illustrious and Rev. Lordship's humble servants,

"CARDINAL MORONE,
"STANISLAUS, Cardinal of Warmia,
"LOUIS, Cardinal Simonetta,
"CARDINAL NAVAGERO."[2]

The appeal thus made by the four Legates on behalf of the imprisoned Prelates was answered by anticipation in a letter from St Charles, with which their own had

[1] *Istoria del Concilio di Trento*, t. iv., p. 335, ed. 1833.
[2] Vat. MS., C.T. 61, f. 355 v.

crossed, addressed to them by him from Rome on August 11. From the extract below given we see that one of the four Legates, Cardinal Hosius of Warmia, had already pleaded for the Bishops separately.

". . . The Lord Cardinal of Warmia has made mention of some poor imprisoned Catholics in England, who need to be assisted with some alms. This his Holiness is willing should be done at his expense; and he therefore desires your Lordships to seek to ascertain the needs of these poor (prisoners), and the way to send and distribute assistance to them; and, on ascertaining this, to send, at his Holiness's charge, what shall seem to you the proper sum. His Holiness leaves the matter to yourselves, and will be satisfied whatever you shall do. . . . Rome, August 11, 1563.

"Your most Ill. and Rev. Lordship's humble servant,

"C. CARDINAL BORROMEO."[1]

How much the question of the captive English Bishops was at this time occupying the attention of the Holy See, is shown also by a scheme, still preserved in the Vatican Archives, and belonging to the time from 1561-1563, for filling up the vacant Sees.

At the head of the paper stand the names of the Bishops, who were then still living, *though in prison;* amongst whom had been at first placed, by a slip, the Bishop of St Asaph, though corrected lower by a note, saying that he had "come to Rome." It begins as follows:—

"*Bishops who are detained in prison.*

"1. The Archbishop of York, who should be translated to the See of Canterbury, as he is worthy of the primacy in England.

"2. The Bishop of Lincoln, who should be translated to that of York.

[1] Vat. MS., C.P. 68, pars. i., f. 98.

"3. The Bishop of Chester, to be translated to that of Durham.

"4. The Bishop of London.

"5. The Bishop of Bath.

"6. The Bishop of Exeter.

"7. The Bishop of Worcester.

"8. The Bishop of Peterborough.

"9. The Bishop of St Asaph.

"10. The Bishop of Ely.

"All these are in prison, and all are worthy of their Sees. The Bishops of Coventry [Lichfield], Winchester, and Carlisle have died in prison. The Bishop of St Asaph has come to Rome. The Bishop of Llandaff has fallen away."[1]

In the above we see that the Bishop of Chester was suggested as a successor to Bishop Tunstall; and there follow the names of a number of distinguished ecclesiastics, either in prison or in exile, from whom might be selected successors to the three other Bishops named as having died in prison, as well as to the other vacant Sees; Dean Boxall being suggested for the See of Winchester, and for those of Lichfield and Carlisle, two priests then in exile, Gilbert Burford, Canon of Wells, and William Taylor, Head of Christ's College, Cambridge. The date of the document is shown sufficiently by its mention on the one hand of the death in prison of Dean Seth Holland of Worcester, whose burial Machyn[2] notes on March 6, 1560-1; and on the other by its naming the Bishop of Chester, as still in confinement, who escaped to Flanders about the May of 1563.

It is another pleasing testimony to the fidelity of the imprisoned Confessors, and to the esteem in which they were held at Rome.

[1] Vat. Arch. 64, t. 28, f. 381. Transcribed by Father Stevenson, S.J. This paper has been published by Dr M. Brady (Epis. Succession II., p. 322). In it the Bishop of Man is not mentioned.

[2] *Diary*, p. 252.

CHAPTER XII

THE PLAGUE OF 1563. DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONFESSORS AMONGST THE PROTESTANT BISHOPS. THEIR RE-COMMITTAL TO THE TOWER IN 1565. OSORIO'S PRAISE OF THEM

THE intervention of the Emperor on behalf of the imprisoned Bishops, as related in last chapter, had stopped, at all events for a time, the proceedings which had been commenced against their lives; although it had not obtained their liberation. A change, however, in the place of their confinement was rendered necessary in the latter part of 1563 by a terrific outbreak of the plague.

This made its appearance in the capital in the month of June, and there began to spread with such rapidity, that on the 9th of July, orders were issued for the lighting of bonfires in the streets and lanes, three times a week, "to consume the corrupt airs," as Stowe records.[1]

By September the 17th, the number of those dead in London of the plague during the previous week alone, had reached the appalling total, as Stowe notes, of sixteen hundred and twenty-six; and in the same month he records that, "the Queen's Majesty lying in her castle of Windsor, there was set up in the Market Place of Windsor a new pair of gallows *to hang up* all such as should come there from London, so that no person or any kind of wares

[1] *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles, and Contemporary Notes of Occurrences in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, by John Stowe, edited by James Gairdner, Camden Society, 1880, p. 123.

might come or be brought from London to or through, . . . upon pain of hanging without any judgment."[1]

It is easy to understand that, in such a state of panic, the administration of nearly every department, including the Tower, must have been more or less demoralised. Moreover, some petition for the removal of the imprisoned Bishops from the scene of the infection apparently was made, either by themselves or others. The result was their consignment once more to the keeping of the new usurping Bishops;—a captivity, which to them, as we know, was in some ways even more repugnant than the Tower.

Their removal from the Tower is thus described by Stowe, in the same secret Memoranda which he had not dared to publish in his lifetime. It must especially be noted that he himself describes it, not as a deliverance, but as a *change of prison.*

"Anno 1563, in September, the old Bishops and divers Doctors were removed out of the Tower into the new Bishops' houses, there to remain prisoners under their custody. The plague then being in the city was thought to be the cause. But their deliverance, or rather change of prison, did so much offend the people that the preachers at Paul's Cross and on other places, both of the city and country preached, as it was thought of many wise men, very seditiously; as Baldwin at Paul's Cross, wishing a gallows set up in Smithfield, and the old Bishops and other Papists to be hanged thereon. Himself died of the plague the next week after."[2]

A tantalising blank in the Register of the Privy Council from August 10, 1563, to April 12, 1564, prevents us from knowing, as precisely as we might otherwise have done, how the Bishops were disposed of. We must note, however, that Stowe gives no hint of any difference made in their treatment; and implies, on the contrary, that each of the six Bishops brought out from the Tower was handed over to the keeping of one or other of the Protestant Prelates.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 126. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 126.

From letters, to be quoted presently, we learn that the Bishop of Ely, together with Dean Boxall, was once more placed under the custody of Parker, who, during the plague time, was staying in Kent at his country house of Beakesbourne; and we shall find others showing that the Bishop of Bath was committed to the keeping of Bullingham of Lincoln.

Similarly the Acts of the Council, a little later, disclose the fact that, in the January of 1565, Bishop Watson was then in the hands of Cox of Ely, and Bishops Pate and Turberville, in those respectively of Jewel of Salisbury and Grindal of London;[1] whilst it is well known that Abbot Feckenham was placed after a time with Horne of Winchester.

Thus, of the eight Confessors, removed from the Tower in September 1563, the Archbishop of York is the only one for whom we have still to account. As to him, however, something may apparently be gathered from a letter which Grindal addressed in the following month to Cecil. It is dated, Fulham, October 15, 1563:—

"I thank you," wrote Grindal in this letter, "that . . . ye remembered to ease me of one guest. My Lord of Ely received him on Sunday last past, and writeth that he is welcome for their sakes that send him, otherwise not. I signified to Dr Watson that, if he had tarried, I was willing to have conferred with him in divers points."

From this we not only learn that Bishop Watson, before being passed on into Cox's keeping, had at first been placed with Grindal; but that the latter then had with him another prisoner also (presumably Bishop Turberville, who, we know, was with him later); inasmuch as he speaks of having been relieved of "*one*" so-called guest, thereby implying that another still remained. However, Grindal continues:—

"I hear said Mr Feckenham is not so precise, but could be contented to confer. The Bishop of Winton [Horne], when he was with me, said, that if he should have any, he could best deal with Feckenham. . . . Ye

[1] Acts of the Privy Council, January 9 and 30, 1564-5.

might do very well, in my opinion, to ease the poor Dean of Westminster, and send *the other* also to some other Bishop, as Sarum, or Chichester, etc. It is more reason that we Bishops should be troubled with them, than the poor Dean."[1]

When, therefore, Grindal wrote this letter, it is clear that Dr Goodman, Dean of Westminster, had in his keeping, not only Abbot Feckenham (who, we know, was sent to Horne soon after); but *another also;* who, if Grindal's suggestion was adopted, must have been sent either to Jewel, or to Barlow, who had been put into the See of Chichester.

That Goodman's second prisoner was a Bishop, was clearly understood by Strype, who, in his *Life of Grindal*, in speaking of this letter, says: "Dr Goodman had with him at this time Dr Feckenham, late Abbot of Westminster, and *a Popish Bishop besides*. Bishop Grindal, now interposed with the Secretary that the Dean might be released of them, as himself was of Watson. And particularly that Feckenham might be sent to Horne . . . and to send the other also to some other Bishop, as Sarum or Chichester."[2]

The other Bishops being all, as we have seen, accounted for elsewhere, it is hard to see who Goodman's other prisoner can have been; if not Archbishop Heath. The outcry, moreover, which was raised, Stowe tells us, at the removal of the Bishops from the Tower, itself excludes the supposition that any of them can at this time have been permitted to retire into private life; and so far from there being any indication of special favour shown to the Archbishop, we have seen him singled out, not long before, for the disgrace of public excommunication.

If consigned to either of those named by Grindal, it seems more likely that the poor Archbishop would be sent to Barlow than to Jewel, who had already Bishop Pate of Worcester as his prisoner. If so, it is sad to think what

[1] *Remains of Archbishop Grindal* (Parker Society), p. 281.
[2] *Life of Grindal*, p. 79, ed. 1710.

must have been the sufferings of the gentle Confessor, in the hands of that virulent apostate.

The following letters, written on occasion of the Bishop of Ely's being sent from the Tower to Parker's house at Beakesbourne, show us something as to the terms on which he and his brother Bishops passed into the hands of their new jailers.

On September 15, 1563, the Lords of the Council, then at Windsor, wrote the following to be delivered to Parker by the keepers who were to conduct Bishop Thirlby to him :—

"We have, upon suit made unto us by the Doctors, prisoners in the Tower, to be removed from thence to some other convenient place for their better safeguard from the present infection of the plague, resolved that Dr Thirlby and Dr Boxall shall be placed in your Lordship's house, in such convenient lodging as your Lordship shall think meet, having each of them one servant to attend upon them. And therefore we require your lordship to receive them into your house, and so to use them as is requisite for men of their sort, foreseeing that there be no other access or conference with them than you think meet, considering from what causes they be restrained from their liberty. And for the charges of their commons during the time of their abode with you, *we think good that they do satisfy your lordship for the same according to reason.*"[1]

From the last words of the above, here placed in italics, we see that, instead of "*feeding sumptuously and free of cost*" (as the unscrupulous editors of Bullinger's *Bullæ Papisticæ Refutatio* made him say in 1571), the Bishops were required to satisfy their episcopal jailers "for the charges of their commons," at their own expense.

On the next day Bishop Thirlby wrote himself to Parker :—

[1] *Parker Correspondence*, p. 192. "From the Parker MSS., C. C. Coll., Cambridge, cxiv., Art. 27, p. 87, Orig."

"Your Grace knoweth the proverb, 'an unbidden guest wotteth not where to sit.' Although we be unbidden, yet we are not unappointed, Mr Boxall and I be assigned to remain with your Grace, how long, or in what condition, I think you shall know by the Lords of the Council's letter, which our keepers will bring with us. I mind to bring with me all my family of the Tower, that is, my man and my boy; for when I told my boy that I would leave him behind me, he made earnest suit to take him with me, saying that he doubted not, since by your means he came to me into the Tower, that by your good contentation he might go with me out of the Tower. Therefore, unless your Grace shall command the contrary, I mind to bring him with me, although I alone should be comer enough to you. I doubt what ways we may come without danger of plague to your Grace, all the places in the way being so sore infected. Yet they say need maketh the old wife to trot. I pray God to bring us well to you, and to preserve your Grace to his pleasure. From the Tower, the 16th of September, 1563. Your Grace's to command,

"THOMAS THIRLBY."[1]

Parker's reply to this was civil enough.

"Sir, as an unbidden guest, as ye write, knoweth not where to sit; so a guest bidden, or unbidden, being content with that which he shall find, shall deserve to be the better welcome. If ye bring with you your man and your young chorister too, ye shall not be refused; and if your companion in journey can content himself with one man to attend upon him, your lodgings shall the sooner be prepared. Your best way were to Maidstone the first night, and the next hither. I would wish your coming were the sooner afore night, that such as shall come with you being once discharged of their charge, may return that night to Canterbury, two miles off, to their bed. And thus God send you a quiet passage: the 20th of September, 1563."[2]

[1] *Parker Correspondence*, p. 193. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 193.

Civil though Parker's answer to the Bishop was, the following, written on the same day to Cecil, shows how much alarmed he was at the prospect of receiving into his house these captives from the plague-stricken city.

"I understand by letters sent to me from Dr Thirlby that the Council hath appointed himself and Mr Boxall to remain with me in house, under what conditions he writeth that I shall know by their letters, which their keeper shall deliver unto me at their repair hither, which is purposed upon Wednesday next. Pleaseth it your honour to signify to the honourable Council that I trust it may stand with their pleasure, if, for the fear that my household is in of them thus coming from a contagious air, I do place them in the town not far from my house here at Beakesbourne, in an house at this present void of a dweller, till such time as they were better blown with this fresh air for a fourteen days. For their provision, I shall see to; and for jeopardy of the custody of their persons, I am surely persuaded of the one not to disappoint your expectations. As for the other I know not so well his nature; whereupon, if ought should chance in the meantime, till I receive them to myself, I trust the Council will rather bear with me in avoiding the danger of infection as may be feared, than for their behoof endanger my whole family. I mean not in respect of my own person to repine at such appointment, nor yet would I be thought slack to gratify mine old acquaintance (so far as my faith to God and His word, and mine allegiance to my Prince and her government may bear with it), nor I mean not to allege the smaller room of my house already pestered, having not many under a hundred persons uprising and down-lying therein, besides divers of my family which for straitness of lodging be other where abroad; but if any peril should arise, the country here would make much exclamation; for I see they be wonderfully afraid of all such as come from London. I thought it good, therefore, to signify thus much to your honour aforehand, praying the same to be a mean that my doings may be taken to the best. And thus

I leave, wishing you God's favour as to myself, this 20th of September.—Your honour's assuredly,

"MATTHUE CANTUAR."[1]

Although the above letters have all been published long ago, it has seemed well to give them here in full together, as thus best showing the state of real imprisonment, in which the holy Bishops were committed to the keeping of their so-called "hosts"; even when these latter (as was apparently the case with Parker) were disposed to show to them such kindness as they could without endangering their own position.

So far from being set at liberty at the end of their long confinement in the Tower, these letters show the Bishops to us conveyed as prisoners, and in the charge of keepers, to a new place of solitary confinement.

No one, probably, since the days of Burghley and of Camden, has done so much to perpetuate the false story of the easy treatment of the Bishops as Strype; and it is worth our while to notice that, in quoting the Directions which the Council gave to Parker, viz., "to use them as was requisite for men of their sort,"[2] he *omits* the words which immediately follow—"foreseeing that there be no other access or conference with them than you think meet, considering for what causes they be restrained from their liberty."

"These words," remarks Father Bridgett in noticing the omission, "would have jarred with the pleasant theory of 'honourable guests' and 'perfect liberty.' The truth is, the Bishops had merely exchanged jail for jail. They were guarded and watched if they left their rooms, lest they should escape, and their rooms were watched lest any but the authorised servant should see or speak with them. . . . Whether Thirlby and Boxall were allowed to converse is quite uncertain."[3]

Another point brought out by the correspondence is

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 194.
[2] Strype, *Life of Parker*, ed. 1711, p. 141.
[3] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 101, and note.

the small discretionary power which was allowed to Parker, who evidently was completely dependent upon Cecil, and had to look to him for instructions as to every detail regarding the treatment of his "guests," as he affected to call them. Once at least, however, he forgot himself, and spoke of them by their true name of *prisoners*.

Parker had been visited at Beakesbourne by M. de Gonour, the French ambassador, and some young gentlemen attending on him. "They have understanding," he wrote to Cecil on June 3, 1564, "of *my prisoners* here; and in that respect I noted unto them the Queen's clemency and mercy towards them, for the preservation of them from the plague, and for the distribution of them among their friends [*sic*]. They seemed to be grieved that they were so stiff not to follow the Prince's religion. . . . They were content to hear evil of the Pope, and bragged how stout they had been aforetimes against that authority. . . . I would fain know what is meant or determined concerning my two guests sent to me, because I intend, God willing, now shortly to repair to Lambeth."[1]

A little earlier, on February 6, when there was some fear of a French invasion, Parker had asked Cecil to consider "what were best to be done with my two guests which ye sent me, in this time and country, in such vicinity; although I judge by their words that they be true Englishmen, not wishing to be subject to the governance of such insolent conquerors."[2]

If the young gentlemen above referred to really spoke as Parker here reports them, it shows, writes Father Bridgett, that these "young Frenchmen belonged to the then very prevalent party of the Politici, or were infected with the common disease of young men—human respect."[3]

With reference to the Bishops consigned to the custody of the other Protestant Prelates, we unfortunately have no account of how they fared; but the letters above given regarding Bishop Thirlby and Dean Boxall, show how strictly *they* were kept confined, even under a jailor such as

[1] *Parker Correspondence*, pp. 215-217. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 203.
[3] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 101.

Parker, who in some respects was not unkindly. Much harder, probably, was the condition of those committed to such men as Grindal, Cox, and Jewel.

Meanwhile the Holy Father had not ceased from his efforts made on their behalf. In the same month of September 1563, in which the Bishops were brought out from the Tower, Pope Pius IV. again urged the King of Spain to make use of his influence with Elizabeth to persuade her "to allow of churches in which the Catholics might celebrate and hear the divine offices and the Mass; and at last to set free those poor Bishops and other Catholics, whom she had so long kept in prison on account of their religion."[1]

When he sent the above instructions to his Nuncio in Spain on the 2nd of September, the Pope had not yet heard of Bishop Quadra's death on the 24th of August previous; and the good Bishop's successor did not arrive in London until June 18 of the following year.

The new ambassador, Don Diego Guzman de Silva, was also an ecclesiastic, being a Canon of Toledo Cathedral. He set out from Spain in the January of 1564, but was directed first to go to Flanders and to stay there some time before crossing over into England. The instructions given to him by the King, and dated January 19, show that Philip—though then in no position to enforce the Holy Father's wishes with reference to the English Catholics—was still mindful of them, and prepared to use any opportunity that offered. They show also, however, that the removal of the six Bishops from the Tower had evidently given rise to false reports of their liberation, into the truth of which the ambassador was instructed to inquire.

"Although it has been stated" (wrote the King in these instructions) "that the Queen has liberated the Archbishop of York and some of the Bishops and other Catholics, who were confined for religion, we have no certain information about it. You will learn the facts in Flanders, or certainly

[1] Vatican Archives, *Registro de le lettere al Nuntio Crivelli, Nuntiatura Hispaniæ*, t. ii., f. 139.

in England; and, if they are still in prison, you will endeavour to consult some of the Catholics to whom you can safely speak, and consider whether it will be desirable for you in my name to address the Queen, and ask her to have them well treated; and to beg of her to allow them to have a church in each town where they may hear Mass. . . . We should be very glad if you were able to conclude some such arrangement for the safety and consolation of the Catholics; . . . and you will advise me immediately what you are able to effect in it, . . . that I may write to the Pope to whom I promised to appeal to the Queen through you."[1]

That Guzman de Silva, on his arrival in England, had not been able to report to the King any improvement in the condition of the Bishops, and that he had found them still, not only in confinement, but in danger of their lives, is clear from the following, written to him by King Philip on October 7, 1564: "With respect to your request that I should write a letter to the Queen in favour of the imprisoned Bishops, to be used in case they proceed to extremities with them, *as is feared this winter*, I have ordered such a letter to be written, and it will be enclosed to you in this. You will use it as and when you think it will be most effectual."[2]

On the 13th of November, the receipt of the letter he had asked for was acknowledged by the ambassador, as follows: "Your Majesty's letter in favour of the imprisoned Bishops and others has duly arrived; and, as I have already written, will be used in the way that may appear most desirable.

"*P.S.*—At this moment I am informed that the case against the Bishop of London has been ordered to be suspended. The letter will, therefore, not be presented now as I had intended."[3]

The fact is that at this very time another determined

[1] *Spanish Calendar*, instructions to Don Diego Guzman de Silva, January 19, 1564.

[2] *Ibid.*, October 7, 1564.

[3] *Ibid.*, November 13, 1564.

effort had just been made to bring Bishop Bonner to the scaffold. But that he was not the only one then threatened is shown from the fact that De Silva had asked for a letter in favour, not of him alone, but "of the imprisoned Bishops." Moreover, before his arrival Luis Roman, the Secretary then in charge of the Spanish Embassy in London, had written, on April the 29th, to Cardinal de Granvelle, King Philip's minister in Flanders, saying: "There is some fear that . . . some general action may be taken this winter against the Catholic Bishops, whereat the Catholics are much troubled."[1]

De Silva himself also had described to the Duchess of Parma, the King's sister, a blasphemous comedy which had been acted at Cambridge in August before the Queen; in which "the actors came in dressed as *some of the imprisoned Bishops*. First came the Bishop of London, carrying a lamb in his hands as if he were eating it, then others with different devices, one being in the figure of a dog with the Host in his mouth." The Queen, he wrote, was very angry at it.[2]

As was to be expected, allusions at this time to the forced detention of the Bishops in the houses of their Protestant supplanters are not wanting in the controversial writings of their Catholic contemporaries.

Thus Dr Harding, in his *Confutation of Jewel's Apology of the Church of England*, brought out at Antwerp early in 1565, exclaims: "If any of you do say that the new superintendents" (*i.e.*, the Protestant Bishops) "do not keep the old Bishops and learned clergy in prison, but the law of the realm; I answer, first, that the law is a crab of your own stock. . . . What need ye to show your malice so much at Bishops and Abbots? Which of them hurteth you? Have ye not in prison, or in custody at your appointment, all the Bishops of England, one Apostata yet living excepted, which, after sundry flights and changing of coats, is fled from the tents of the Church to your scattered troops? . . .

[1] *Ibid.*, April 29.

[2] *Ibid.*, August 19. Guzman de Silva to the Duchess of Parma.

"Say the worst ye can by our Bishops of England whom ye have deprived and at this day keep in prison! The world is for good cause persuaded of their worthiness both for learning and good life."[1]

In the following, Harding replies to the assertion, made by Jewel, that many of the Bishops now in prison "would even now gladly depart" from the Pope again, "if the note of inconstancy and shame, and their own estimation among the people, were not a let unto them."

"Those reverent Fathers and godly learned men, whose rooms ye hold wrongfully, whom it liked your interpreter[2] to call 'ring leaders,' resist not the Gospel, but suffer persecution for the Gospel. *Your* Gospel, that is to say, your vile heresies and blasphemies, worthily they detest. Your new truth, that is to say, your false and wicked lies, they abhor. Neither ever departed they from any part of the duty of Catholic men by their own accord and good will, as ye say. But wherein they stept aside, they were compelled by such fear as might happen to a right constant man; I mean the terror of death, which, as Aristotle sayeth, 'of all terrible things is most terrible.' Now because yet they find the terror of a guilty conscience more terrible than death of their persons, they intend, by God's grace assisting them, never so to step aside again, but rather to suffer whatsoever extremities. Whose blood, or the blood of any of them, if God to his honour shall at any time permit you to draw—which so much ye thirst—soon after look ye for the returning of the Israelites again; that text being then fulfilled: 'Completæ sunt iniquitates Amorrhæorum.' Were they not well assured of the truth, most certain it is, whatsoever ye say, they would not make so foolish a bargain as yourselves do, as to buy vain estimation among the people with the certain loss of their souls."[3]

[1] *Confutation*, etc., pp. 225, 279, 300. The censor's approbation of the work is dated April 10, 1565.

[2] Jewel's *Apologia* had been "interpreted," *i.e.*, translated into English by Lady Bacon.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 339.

It has seemed useful here to cite these words of Harding's, not merely as the testimony of a much-esteemed ecclesiastic of the time itself to the continued firmness of the Confessors; but also as showing how different was this contemporary writer's view of their *imprisonment* (as he expressly calls it) in the new-made dignitaries' houses, from that of later writers; who, taking their cue from Burghley, have dilated on the courteous entertainment given to the Bishops as the "honoured guests" of their supplanters.

But what it is even more important to correct, is the error into which our modern historians have fallen, of representing this *temporary* consignment of them to the Protestant Prelates' keeping, as having been their last, if not their only, suffering.

Besides containing the direct falsehoods which have been already pointed out, Lord Burghley's account of the Bishops had carefully avoided all mention of the imprisonments which they had suffered; excepting in so far as might be understood from his admission that "most of them for a great time were retained in Bishops' houses in very civil and courteous manner."[1] From this, however, no one could have gathered that the Bishops had first been kept for more than three years close prisoners in the Tower; still less that, within two years of their removal from it, they had all been remanded to the Tower in the June of 1565, to be released from it, in some cases, only by their death.

It is not surprising, therefore, that from the innumerable writers, by whom Burghley's account has been made the groundwork of their own, we should hear but little of the imprisonments suffered by the Bishops; and that their remanding to the Tower—although it changes their whole after history—should have been universally ignored. The evidence for it must, therefore, now be laid before the reader, apparently for the first time.

The strict rules for the confinement of the Bishops, which had been issued by the Council on their first removal

[1] *Somers' Tracts*, vol. i., p. 193.

from the Tower in 1563, seem in some cases to have been afterwards relaxed. Thus, from the Acts of the Privy Council for the January of 1565, we learn that then the two Bishops of Exeter and Worcester, who are described as having been "heretofore committed to the custody" of Grindal and of Jewel, received permission to leave their keepers houses, and, on giving bail, to retire "to some certain place" in, or near to, London; though still bound to appear whenever sent for by their former jailers. This permission is thus recorded in the Council's Acts for January 30, 1564—new style 1565.

"A letter to the Bishop of London, signifying that at his motion the Lords are contented that, after he shall have taken good bands with sufficient sureties of Dr Turberville, heretofore committed to his custody, that he shall remain in some certain place in the City of London and be further coming when his Lordship shall call for him, then he is willed to suffer him to depart, of whose further custody he is for this time discharged. A letter to the Bishop of Salisbury to do *ut supra* with Dr Pate, heretofore committed unto him, with this enlargement in or about London."[1]

It may be that similar permissions were at this time granted to some of the other Bishops also; although we have no record of it, and, on the other hand, we find from the Acts of the Council, that already, on the 9th of the same month, Cox of Ely had been directed to send back Bishop Watson to the Tower, where he was to be kept "without having conference with any."[2] In any case,

[1] *Acts of Privy Council*, 1558-1570, p. 190 (published 1893). The volume of the Council's Acts, from which the above is taken, did not appear till four years after the date of Father Bridgett's book, who, if he had had the opportunity of seeing it, would never, in speaking of the Bishops' removal from the Tower, in 1563, have written with reference to Bishop Turberville, that he was "thenceforth merely restricted to certain localities"; and still less with reference to Bishop Pate, that he "escaped to the Continent"!—thus in part adopting Andrewes' fiction, though placing Pate's flight somewhat later (*Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 44).

[2] Acts of the Privy Council, January 9, 1564-65.

however, the slight liberty—restricted though it was—which the two Bishops above-mentioned, and perhaps some others, had obtained, was soon made a pretext for accusing them, as we shall see, of seducing the Queen's subjects, and for placing all the Confessors again in strict confinement.

In the spring of 1565, the news reached England that the Queen of Scots had accepted Lord Darnley for her husband; and the real, or imaginary, fear occasioned by it to Elizabeth and her counsellors was made an excuse for increased severity against the Catholics in general, and the Bishops in particular, whose hopes were raised by the prospect of a Catholic successor to the English throne.

At a special meeting of the Council, held on June the 4th, the following questions were discussed: "1st, What perils might ensue to the Queen or Realm of the marriage betwixt the Queen of Scotland and Lord Darnley? 2nd, What were meet to remedy the same?"

The following was the conclusion come to in answer to the first: "Considering the chief foundation of those who further this marriage was laid upon the trust of such as were Papists, as the only means left to restore the religion of Rome, it was plainly to be seen that . . . the Papists would . . . devise all means within this realm to disturb the estate of the Queen, and consequently to achieve their purpose by force rather than fail."

In answer to the second question, the following was one of the measures recommended to be taken for the repression of the Catholics: "That the *quondam* Bishops and others, who had refused to acknowledge the Queen's power over them according to the law, and of late dispersed in the plague time to sundry places abroad, where it is known they cease not to advance their faction, might *be returned to the Tower* or some other prison, where they might not have liberty to seduce her subjects as they daily do."[1]

The above is published, among State Papers, from a

[1] *Foreign Calendar*, June 4, 1565. "Conference by the Privy Council on the marriage of Queen Mary."

draft report of the consultation "in Cecil's handwriting, and corrected and endorsed by him."

It need scarcely be remarked that a resolution such as the above, arrived at by the almighty Council, did not usually fail to be promptly put in execution; and that it was carried out without delay in this case, is shown by a letter written on the 17th of the next month, in which Horne exultingly makes known to his friend, Gualter of Zurich, the fact that "the Papist Prelates *are in the public prisons*, the rest affecting to be exiles," etc.[1] The letter is dated July 17, 1565, just six weeks after the resolution of the Council.

The same thing is also told by Camden, who, in his *Annals*, in speaking of this consultation, says that the Council "deemed it especially necessary . . . to hinder the profession of the Roman religion as much as possible throughout England . . . by calling back into the prisons the deprived Papist Bishops, who, during the prevalence of the plague, had been dispersed through the country."[2]

Thus the summer of 1565 saw the poor persecuted Bishops thrust back once more into the Tower; and accordingly we find that Harding, who earlier in that very year had referred so pointedly to *the new superintendents*, as the Bishops' jailers,[3] speaks thenceforth only of the Tower and other public prisons, as the places where they were detained.

Thus, in his *Detection*, brought out three years later, he declares: "The old and only true Bishops of our

[1] "Primates papistici in publicis custodiis" (*Zurich Letters*, 1st series, Ep. 64). By Horne and others of the time the term *publicæ custodiæ* was regularly used to distinguish the public *prisons* from private places of detention in Bishops' houses, etc. Thus Grindal wrote on February 1570, to Cecil: "I think it were good that such as deserve to be committed, should be sent *ad custodias publicas*. Experience declareth that none of those are reformed, which are sent to me and others" (*Grindal's Remains*, p. 320).

[2] "*Revocando Episcopos pontificios abdicatos ad custodias.*" (*Annales ad an.* 1565, p. 95, ed. 1615.)

[3] Harding's *Confutation* was written at the *beginning* of 1565, the censor's approbation being dated April 10, 1565.

country, . . . as all England knoweth, . . . have sustained imprisonment these eight years and more;" and he then proceeds, as follows, to answer a taunt of Jewel's: "Who ever said that the whole Church of England must flee, or was fled, to Louvain? You keep some part of it fast enough from fleeing to Louvain, or any whither else, if *the Tower*, *the Fleet*, *the Marshalsea*, the Counters, the King's Bench, and other prisons in London be able to keep men fast."[1]

Here Harding evidently names the prisons in which the chief clergy then were known to be detained; most of the Bishops, as we shall see, being at that time in the Tower, whilst those of London and of Peterborough were in the Marshalsea and the Fleet. In view, moreover, of the assertion so continually to be found in modern writers, that the Bishops' imprisonment at any rate ended with their first three years' confinement in the Tower; it is important to direct attention to the above confident appeal of Harding to *all England's knowledge*, in the spring of 1568, of the fact that the Bishops had then already been imprisoned *for eight years and more.*

How well, indeed, the Bishop's continued imprisonment was, at that time, known as a fact to all, is proved by the very rumours of their liberation, which from time to time were circulated, which rumours, however, were always found to be ungrounded.

Thus in the middle of the year 1567, that is to say, fully two years after the remanding of the Bishops to the Tower, we find a certain Captain Cockburn, one of Cecil's spies in France, writing from Compiegne to his employer on August 6: "They have raised a bruit here that the Bishops who were *in the Tower* are set at liberty, and that the Queen has commanded them to set up Mass and the old religion again."[2] Next day, moreover, Sir Henry

[1] "A Detection of sundrie foule errours, lies, etc. . . . uttered and practized by M. Jewel, in a Booke lately by him set foorth entitled *A Defence of the Apologie*, etc. Lovanii, anno 1568." (ff. 88 and 237.) The censor's approbation of this work of Harding's is dated "Lovanii, 21 Maii 1568."

[2] *Foreign Calendar*, August 6, 1567. "Cockburn to Cecil."

Norris, then her ambassador in France, wrote to the Queen herself, to tell her of the rumour which had reached him, that "she had set at liberty the Bishops, who were prisoners for religion."[1] A fortnight later, too, from the same place, Compiegne, we find the Venetian ambassador communicating the same intelligence even more circumstantially to the Doge and Senate: "The Queen of England," he wrote on August 22, "has lately liberated *the eight Bishops who have been so long in prison.* This news is probably correct, as the Queen [of France] has congratulated the Nuncio upon it, and told him that she had received it from her ambassador in England."[2]

Though eight had been the number of the Bishops at the time of their re-committal in the June of 1565, the Bishop of Worcester's death (of which the French court evidently had not heard) had since brought them down to seven, as we shall see in the next chapter. That the report, moreover, of their liberation—which would have caused, if true, such rejoicing amongst Catholics—was soon discovered to have no foundation, is clear from the fact that no further allusion to it can be brought to light; whilst, on the contrary, we find the Spanish ambassador writing from London in the following December, that attendance at the new services is being more strictly enforced than it had ever been before; and that those of the Catholics "who have been imprisoned for some time, *are kept more closely than formerly.*"[3]

At the same time, the fact of their liberation having been reported, and of inquiries having been addressed in consequence to Cecil and even to the Queen, is clear proof that the Bishops were well known to be still in durance; and most of them, as Cockburn's letter shows, to be still shut up in the Tower. Another thing, to which the existence of rumours such as this bears witness, is the deep interest and sympathy then felt by Catholics of other

[1] *Ibid.*, August 7, 1567. "Sir Henry Norris to the Queen."

[2] *Venetian Calendar*, August 22, 1567. "Giovanni Correr to the Doge and Senate."

[3] *Spanish Calendar*, December 1, 6, and 21, 1567. "Guzman de Silva to the King."

countries for the holy Bishops imprisoned for the faith in England all these years; and in this connection a passage may here be set before the reader from the writings of the celebrated Jerome Osorio, Bishop of Silves, who for his eloquence has been spoken of as the Cicero of Portugal.

Osorio had addressed to Queen Elizabeth, in 1563, a courteously worded letter, which he published both in French and Latin, beseeching her to withdraw her countenance from the so-called Reformers, and restore the Catholics to favour. To this a rude and scornful answer had been made by Walter Haddon, which Osorio replied to in 1567. The following is from the translation of Osorio's reply, made next year by John Fen, one of the English exiles at Louvain; and we must notice in it how Osorio ranked the imprisoned Bishops with the Blessed John Fisher, Thomas More, and the Carthusians, martyred under Henry VIII. After speaking of these earlier Martyrs at some length, he says:—

"What shall I say of the holy Bishops, whom you have laden with irons, fetters, and chains? Whom you have shut up in dark and close prisons; whom you have robbed both of goods and honour? Have you anything else to lay to their charge, but that they would not give their assent to your statutes, which seemed to them unjust?"

And again, in the same book later on: "Whereas you say that there hath been many men amongst you, which have confirmed the truth of the Gospel by banishment, nakedness, hunger, yea, by shedding their blood and yielding their lives; I grant it. For so did the Bishop of Rochester, so did More, so did the Carthusians—to pass over a number of others. These men died a most honourable death for the glory of Christ. *So do your holy Bishops*, whom you have defeated of their goods, deprived of their dignities, and cast into prisons."[1]

[1] "A learned and very eloquent treatie, written in Latin by the famouse man, Hieronymus Osorius, Bishop of Sylva in Portugal, wherein he confuteth a certayne answere made by M. Walter Haddon against the Epistle of the said Bishoppe unto the Queenes Majestie. Translated into English by John Fen, Student of Divinitie in the Universitie of Louen. Lovanii, anno 1568," ff. 11 and 241.

CHAPTER XIII

BISHOP PATE OF WORCESTER. HIS EARLY CONVERSION FROM THE SCHISM, AND FLIGHT FROM HENRY VIII.'S SERVICE TO THE POPE. FALSE STORY OF HIS FLIGHT UNDER ELIZABETH. HIS DEATH IN THE TOWER, NOVEMBER 23, 1565

THE first to win his crown, after the Confessors' re-consignment to the Tower, was Bishop Richard Pate of Worcester, who died in the same year only five months later, his health, no doubt, having been already broken by his long previous imprisonment.

Although the history of our Bishops previous to the persecution, in which they were imprisoned, does not lie, strictly speaking, within our present scope, we feel sure the reader will forgive us, if we here tell something of the story of Pate's early conversion from the schism, which the publication of State Papers has in our own day brought to light, and which seems not yet to have been noticed by historians.

Richard Pate, or Pates, as the name was often written, had owed his first advancement to his maternal uncle, John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, who held the unenviable and dangerous position of Confessor to King Henry VIII. Even before taking his degree at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, which he did in 1523, he had been named to a prebendal stall in the Cathedral of this uncle, who, in 1528, made him its archdeacon.

Such dignities were often then bestowed upon ecclesiastics, who had not yet received priest's orders, and

it seems more probable that Pate was not ordained a priest till near the time when he was made a Bishop.

The same uncle's influence soon opened the way for him at court; and in 1533 Pate was despatched to Spain, as ambassador from King Henry VIII. to the Emperor Charles V. This high office he held for the next four years; and seems in it to have gained the esteem and even affection of the Emperor, whom he accompanied on his expedition against Tunis, following him thence to Naples and to Rome.

The date of his leaving England is indicated by the following allusions to it in State Papers. Thus, under the date October, 1533, amongst *Cromwell's Remembrances*, occurs: "To remember the *dépêchée* of Mr Pate, my Lord of Lincoln's kinsman, towards Spain. . . . To remember for money for Mr Pattes, the King's ambassador in Spain."[1] The following also is found amongst the "Grants in November, 1533":—"Ric. Pattes, Archdeacon of Lincoln. Passport for the conveyance of ten horses, with baggage, etc., by his servants, he being now at Paris, and appointed to be the King's ambassador resident in the Court of the Emperor."[2]

Thus, fortunately for himself, we see that Pate had already left the country, when, in 1534, the Acts of Parliament were passed by which England was severed from the Church; as also when the Carthusians and BB. More and Fisher were martyred for their refusal to accept the King's ecclesiastical supremacy.

From Rome, moreover, whither he had gone in attendance on the Emperor, he addressed a long letter to King Henry, on April 14, 1536, which does him honour, as showing how little he approved of the King's conduct with reference to the divorce. In this letter, Pate, in plain but courteous language, made known to Henry the Emperor's refusal to regard his aunt, Queen Catherine of Aragon, who had then just died, as anything but Henry's lawful wife, or the Princess Mary as anything but

[1] *Calendar, Henry VIII.*, 1533, No. 1370.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 1481, 12.

his lawful daughter. He also informed him of the Emperor's efforts to avert his excommunication; and repeated the arguments for his reconciliation with the Pope, which had been urged by the Emperor's counsellor, Granvelle. Finally he made, as from himself, a forcible appeal to Henry to legitimate the Princess Mary.[1]

Such sentiments can scarcely have been pleasing to the haughty Henry, although he found it to his interest to be represented at the Emperor's court by a man of the high character of Archdeacon Pate. That the King, however, did not really fully trust him, is proved both by the fact of his sending out Casale, to be associated with him in the embassy (a man, the Emperor's distrust of whom was dwelt upon by Pate in the very letter above quoted); and by Henry's own words, as reported to the Emperor's Secretary by Chapuys on January 29, 1536, in a letter epitomised as follows in the Calendar :—

"He [Chapuys] thinks the King is not well satisfied with his ambassador (Pate) at the Emperor's court. On his telling the King that he should feel quite ashamed of the kindness which he had shown him, . . . were it not that he was assured that the Emperor would requite it towards Henry's ambassador; the king said that he [Chapuys] deserved it well, . . . at the same time dispraising his own ambassador [Pate] very much, so that it would seem the same ambassador is *too good a Christian* and imperialist for him."[2]

In Italy the Archdeacon caught a fever which perhaps was made the excuse for his recall in 1537; and he started homewards on June 28, after receiving from the Emperor a present of "three cups of gold."[3]

In England he found the state of schism now fully established, all the Bishops—except the saintly Fisher—

[1] *Calendar, Henry VIII.*, April 14, 1536.

[2] *Ibid.*, January 29, 1536. "Chapuys to Antoine Perrenot, Secretary of State to the Emperor."

[3] *Ibid.*, July 11, 1537. "Jo. Guidiccione to ——."

having submitted to the King's supremacy over the Church, and a number of the monasteries already having been suppressed.

Brought up as Pate had been by his courtier uncle, Bishop Longland, to whom he had owed his first advancement, it hardly is surprising to find him seeking to persuade himself at this time that it was useless to resist the current, and therefore yielding to the miserable situation, as his uncle and the other Prelates had done.

On the following October 15, he is named amongst those present at Prince Edward's christening;[1] and in the spring of 1540, we find him sent back again to his old post of ambassador to the Emperor Charles V., then resident in Flanders.

His letters, whilst engaged upon this second mission, contain at times irreverent references to the Pope, which prove his then acquiescence in his tyrant master's rejection of the authority of Christ's Vicar. It is very interesting, however, to observe amongst these almost from the first other expressions, which show his awakening to the truth; and one thing, which evidently at once impressed him strongly, was the horror which the recent acts in England had excited in the minds of Catholics abroad. Thus, on July 12, he wrote from Bruges, as follows, to the Duke of Norfolk:—

"Your Grace shall understand that, all while Thomas Cromwell ruled,[2] there were such slanders and obloquies of our realm, as might be to a true Englishman . . . a great grief; some pronouncing that the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar was utterly abolished with us, some affirming that we neither observed holidays nor regarded Saints, as we had none of their images standing within our churches; and some said that we no more fasted than dogs, the Lent (being) abrogated, so that all piety and religion having no place, was banished out of England. Whither some, pur-

[1] *Ibid.*, 1537, No. 911.

[2] When this was written Cromwell had just fallen and was awaiting execution.

posing to go, said they would carry their chaplains with them, to say them Mass in their chambers, thinking they could have no place in the Church so to do; but when they heard me declare the contrary, . . . giving to my word credit, and seeing my servants of an honest life, and conforming themselves to the laws of God, they began to bless them as so lightly deluded by common rumours. . . . This I write to your Lordship, to the intent it may perceive what service that wretch did our Sovereign Lord, that neither regarded his master's honour, nor his own honesty."[1]

In the following, written to the Duke a little later from the Hague, Pate describes again experiences of the same kind. "The Lord of Barrow [*i.e.*, Berghen] showed me that there were brought to his town and Antwerp so many goodly and rich copes out of England to sell these years past, that it caused them all no less to marvel than in manner to mourn, to see *them* come to a sale that were prepared to the service of God; whereupon rose rumours that we had no masses within the realm. As now in this my passage through Breda, a gorgeous town of the Prince of Orange, . . . I lying there sick, sent to the church to desire a priest to say me Mass within my chamber: which made my messenger this answer: 'What? Do the Englishmen yet hear Masses?'"[2]

The genuine surprise, which Pate here expresses, at finding himself and his fellow-countrymen regarded by the good Catholics of the Low Countries, as having practically ceased any longer to be Christians, seems to show that he had not yet realised the heresy and schism involved in Henry's revolt against the Church. Other influences also were, however, soon brought to bear on him, to enable him to see the truth more clearly.

By an Act of Parliament, passed in the previous year, a priest named John Heliar, or Helyarde, Vicar of East Meon, had been attainted as a traitor—along with Reginald

[1] *State Papers*, Henry VIII., vol. viii. (Foreign Correspondence, 1537-1542), p. 396. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 413.

Pole, the future Cardinal, Thomas Goldwell, the future Bishop of St Asaph, and some others—for having "adhered to the Bishop of Rome, the King's enemy."[1]

Heliar, who was now in Rome, where the Pope had named him Master of the English Hospice (formed later into the English College), had been a friend of Pate's, and also of Seth Holland, the priest who had accompanied him to Flanders as his secretary and chaplain. To both of these he now wrote letters, which through some miscarriage fell into the hands of Henry's ministers, thus arousing their suspicions both of the ambassador and of his chaplain.

The consequence was that Holland was sent for by the Council, before whom, on October 7, he was examined "about a letter sent to him and to his master from John Heliar, late Vicar of East Meon, now penitentiary at Rome."[2]

Holland, however, apparently succeeded in allaying the suspicions of the Government, and was allowed to return to Flanders; and a few days later the Council wrote to Pate on October 11, that "although the traitorous letter of Heliar might have caused suspicion, the King conceived a good opinion of the truth both of him and of his chaplain."[3]

Previous to this, however, Pate had judged it necessary to address the King himself in words, which, though not then as insincere as they would have been a little later, were dictated evidently by his fear of Henry's anger. "Although," he had written, "that traitor, intending to bring us . . . to that disobediency that he and his following deserveth *in tenebras conjici exteriores;* yet shall it be your gracious goodness to take us as we are, *amplectentes veritatem*, and not for such as his letters directed to us might give a suspicion to a judge not favourably inclined."[4]

[1] *Calendar, Henry VIII.*, April 28, 1539, p. 402.
[2] *Ibid.*, October 7, 1540.
[3] *Ibid.*, October 11, 1540.
[4] *Ibid.*, October 3. "Pate to Henry VIII."

By this submission, for which we must not judge Pate too harshly, as he was then still entangled in the schism, Henry was for the time appeased. It is evident, however, that the occurrence had the effect of leading both Pate and Holland to reflect more seriously on their position; and it was not long before God's grace enabled them to see that, if they did not wish to be cut off altogether from the Church of Jesus Christ, they themselves must imitate that "disobediency" of John Heliar, which they had just condemned; and, regardless of their earthly sovereign's anger, make their submission to Christ's Vicar.

An opportunity of doing this, without in any way betraying their duty to the King, was offered to them sooner than they had probably expected.

When once Henry's suspicions of any one in his employ had been aroused, it was not an easy matter to regain his confidence, though he might sometimes be led to conceal his distrust for awhile. In the present instance, less than two months after the incident we have just related, word was brought to Archdeacon Pate, on the following 1st of December, that two new ambassadors had been accredited to the Emperor by the English King, entrusted with a special mission; and that they had already got to Calais, bringing with them to himself "letters of comfort from the King's Majesty for his return into England incontinently upon their arrival."[1]

The new ambassadors, whose coming thus relieved Pate of his office of King Henry's representative, were Bishop Gardiner and Sir Henry Knyvett. Their arrival at Namur, where the Emperor then lay unwell, was announced by Charles himself to Henry, in a letter dated December the 27th, in which he bestowed the following high praise upon Archdeacon Pate:—

"Since it has pleased you to allow the Archdeacon of Lincoln, till lately your ambassador, to return to you, I

[1] *State Papers*, Henry VIII., vol. viii. (Foreign Correspondence, 1537-1542), p. 488, "Gardiner and Knyvett to Pate," November 28, 1540; and p. 489, "Pate to Gardiner and Knyvett," December 1.

must not fail to bear witness for him that he has always and on every occasion acquitted himself well of his charge and office."[1]

A few days after writing the above, the Emperor left Namur for Germany; and Pate, accompanied by his faithful chaplain, seized the opportunity of travelling with all the speed he could to Rome.

Our earliest intelligence of this is obtained from the following letter of Montmorency, Constable of France, written from Fontainbleau, on January 11, 1541, to Marillac, the French ambassador in London :—

"By last letters the Emperor was returning into Luxemburg unwell, but still continuing his journey to Germany, where he ought soon to be. *One of the English ambassadors with him had mounted his horse and departed by night*, and it is not known where he is gone. It is said that secretly he was always a good Christian, maintaining our religion; and that finding himself out of England and at liberty, he is gone to live elsewhere out of the King's power. Note there [viz., in London] what is said of it."[2]

That Pate's flight was already known in London, and had caused extreme displeasure to Henry and his Council, is shown by a letter written on January 12 by Marillac to Montmorency, which seems to have crossed with the above, in which he remarks that "the flight of their other ambassador, the Archdeacon of Lincoln, has troubled them :"[3] and even as early as January the 8th, we find Chapuys writing from London to the Queen of Hungary that "some suspect that Wallop" [the English ambassador in France], "has been recalled for fear he should withdraw, as the Archdeacon of Lincoln did, . . . whose withdrawal the Privy Councillors have been trying to keep as secret

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 507. "Emperor Charles V. to King Henry VIII." December 27, 1540.

[2] *Calendar*, *Henry VIII.*, January 11, 1541. "Montmorency to Marillac."

[3] *Ibid.*, January 12, 1541. "Marillac to Montmorency."

as possible, ordering all private letters to be opened to see if anything is said of it."[1]

The following few facts with reference to the matter were elicited by the examination, to which some of the Archdeacon's servants were subjected on their return to England by the Solicitor-General, Sir Richard Riche.

Of these, one declared that he knew "no cause of the departure of Pate, nor knew it until he was gone," but that "Seth Holland, his secretary, and Daniel, a stranger, his servant, be gone with him." Another supposed him to have gone by the Meuse "into the Bishopric of Liège," saying that "the host of the house where Pate lodged provided a boat on the backside, by which he may convey himself into the Bishopric." A third, whilst declaring the same, "supposed Seth Holland was the cause of Pate s departure."[2]

What would have been the fate of the Archdeacon and his chaplain, if Henry had been able to get them into his power, is shown by the Act of Attainder, which on the following 8th of February was passed by the House of Lords against Richard Pate and Seth Holland; and which, at all events with reference to the former, remained in force until the reign of Mary.[3]

Meantime the two fugitives had been hastening on their way towards Rome, and on January 13, we find Mgr. Poggio, the Papal Nuncio at the Emperor's court, who seems to have been entrusted with the secret, writing from Worms to Cardinal Santa Croce: "Pate [*Il Patho*], formerly ambassador of the King of England, passed Spires in safety, and I hope will soon arrive at the feet of his Holiness."[4]

No particulars have reached us as to their reception by

[1] *Ibid.*, January 8, 1541. "Chapuys to the Queen of Hungary."

[2] *Calendar, Henry VIII.*, January 12, 1541, No. 448.

[3] *Lords' Journals*, an. 1540-41, 33 Hen. VIII., 8vo Februarii. Bishop Pate was especially excepted from the pardon granted by Edward VI. on his accession.

[4] *Calendar, Henry VIII.*, January 13, 1541. "Poggio to Cardinal Santa Croce."

Pope Paul III., though we may be sure that they were welcomed with open arms, both by him and by their fellow-countrymen, Cardinal Pole, Goldwell, and John Heliar, attainted like themselves of treason. Heliar, however, died before the end of the same year, 1541.[1]

The esteem in which Pate was already held by Pole may be gathered from a letter in which, some months later, he recommended the ex-ambassador of Henry to Cardinal Contarini. In this he describes him as "one with whom he (himself) is connected by race, cause, and love; who a few months ago was the King of England's ambassador with the Emperor, and formerly in Spain; but who, fleeing the tyrant's cruelty, and following the cause of Christ, came hither to the Pope; by whom, on the death of Cardinal Ghinucci, he has been elected Bishop of Worcester."[2]

The Cardinal, whose recent death is here referred to, had acted as Papal Nuncio in England in Henry's better days, and had then been nominated by the King to the See of Worcester, in the hope of attaching him to his own interest. After his rupture, however, with the Pope, Henry had intruded the notorious Latimer into that See, declaring Ghinucci, as a foreigner, incapable of holding it—an arrangement which, of course, was not acknowledged by the Pope.

Archdeacon Pate was nominated to the See of Worcester by Pope Paul III. on the 8th of July in the same year, 1541, in which he had fled to Rome. The Brief of his Provision to the Bishopric describes him simply as then "Archdeacon of the Church of Lincoln,"[3] from which it would appear that he was not yet a priest; and in those days it was not uncommon for high church offices to be held by men who were not yet priests by ordination.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, December 23, 1541. "Pole to Contarini."

[2] *Calendar, Henry VIII.*, September 1, 1541. "Pole to Contarini."

[3] The Brief of Pate's Provision is given in Dr M. Brady's *Episcopal Succession*, vol. i., p. 51.

[4] The Council of Trent permitted Canonries to be held by deacons and subdeacons, provided at least half of the Chapter were priests.

Thus Cardinal Pole himself was only in deacon's orders until nominated to the See of Canterbury; and Nicholas Sander, the historian, who under Mary had taught theology and Canon Law at Oxford, was not ordained a priest, as he says in his *De Visibili*, till after he had become an exile under Elizabeth.

Though thus directly appointed to the See of Worcester by the Pope himself in 1541, twelve years were first to be spent by Pate in exile, before he could take actual possession of the Bishopric.

Meantime, however, he was able to take his seat, as Bishop of Worcester, in the Council of Trent on its assembling, and his name is found in the lists of those present at the sessions held under Paul III. from December 13, 1545, till September, 1547; and again at those under Julius III., from September, 1551, to April, 1552. In these sessions of the Council, England had the honour of being represented also by Cardinal Pole—one of the three Papal Legates who presided; though the Bishop of Worcester was the only member of the English Hierarchy at that time in communion with the Holy See.[1] In the later sessions, held in 1562 and 1563, England's sole representative was Bishop Goldwell of St Asaph, all the other English Bishops being then in prison.

Bishop Pate's residence at Rome at this time is alluded to by Sander, in his *History of the Schism*, in speaking of the English "exiles for the faith," who were at Rome with Pole during the reign of Edward VI. There, after mentioning the Cardinal himself, he says, "There also lived at Rome, Richard Pate, Bishop of Worcester, Thomas Goldwell, who now is Bishop of St Asaph," etc.[2]

To any one who pays attention to the context, it is impossible, of course, to read this allusion to the *quondam* residence of Pate and Goldwell at Rome together, without seeing that Sander is there speaking only of the reign of Edward VI., and of the time when Pole himself was still in

[1] See the Indices to vol. iv. of Pallavicini's *Istoria del Concilio di Trento.*

[2] *De Origine Schism. Angl.*, 1585, f. 124.

exile. There can, however, be no doubt apparently that it was the misapplication by Andrewes—whether intentional or accidental—of this passage to a later period that first set on foot the story that Pate, as well as Goldwell, had gone abroad upon Elizabeth's accession.

In his enumeration of the Bishops deposed by Elizabeth (made in 1609 in his *Tortura Torti*), Andrewes, after mentioning Bishop Scott's escape from prison, thus continues: "As to Pate of Worcester and Goldwell of St Asaph, we admit that they also *had left the realm*, though neither of them by any sentence of the law, but solely because they themselves so willed."[1]

How untrue this is, as far as the Bishop of Worcester is concerned, has been sufficiently shown from the various State Papers already quoted; nor can any such statement be found in any writer previous to Andrewes, although from him it was at once adopted by Camden in his *Annals*. The whole context makes it clear, moreover, that this novel assertion as to the flight of Bishop Pate, so far from being made by Andrewes in the spirit of a calm historian, was put forward, on the contrary, as the statement of a heated partisan, bent on minimising the ill-treatment suffered by the Bishops from Elizabeth.

His *Tortura Torti* was written, it must be remembered, in reply to Cardinal Bellarmine, who, in proof of the persecution inflicted by Elizabeth on the Catholics, and in particular on the Bishops, had referred to the account of it given by Sander in the third book of his *History of the Schism*, and also in the seventh book of his *De Visibili*.[2]

The third book of Sander's *History* is the part which was supplied, as we have seen, by Rishton after Sander's death; and in the list of the "Bishops dead in prison" given there, the name of Bishop Pate of Worcester, owing to the defectiveness of the copy used by Rishton, was, as

[1] "De Pato Wigorniensi, De Goldwello itidem Asaphensi, et illos excessisse regno fatemur; neutrum tamen ex legis sententia aliqua, tantum quia sic ipsi voluerunt" (*Tortura Torti*, p. 147).

[2] *Responsio Matthæi Torti ad Apologiam pro Juramento Fidelitatis*, 1608, p. 38.

has been said, omitted; the name of Bishop Scott of Chester being placed instead. Andrewes, however, instead of turning to the *De Visibili*, in which he would have found Pate named as having *died in prison*, appears to have fastened on the notice of his earlier exile under Edward (above quoted from the *History*), though without troubling to examine it with any care.

This, if we would not deem him guilty of a piece of pure invention, seems the only explanation of the error, in which Andrewes has been blindly followed by most later writers.[1] It certainly seems strange that, whilst his unwarranted assertion of Pate's withdrawal abroad under Elizabeth has come to find a place in nearly every modern history, the far more sensational, though perfectly true, story of his flight to Rome from Henry should have had to be unearthed in our time from State Papers, in which it had lain concealed for centuries.

The accession of Queen Mary naturally opened the way for Bishop Pate to obtain possession of his See of Worcester, which in 1543 had been bestowed by Henry VIII. upon Bishop Heath. During the negotiations, which preceded Cardinal Pole's entry into England, the Bishop and his friend Seth Holland seem to have lived with him in Flanders; and at least on one occasion, Pate was employed by the Legate as his envoy to the Queen.[2]

The temporalities of the See of Worcester, which Bishop Heath willingly surrendered, were bestowed on Bishop Pate by Mary on March the 8th, 1555;[3] Heath being soon afterwards appointed to the Archbishopric of York, whilst Holland became, first a Prebendary, and later on the Dean of Worcester.

[1] As an instance of the rapidity with which Andrewes' assertion was copied by other writers, we may notice—besides Camden—Godwin's *Catalogue of the Bishops of England*. In the 1st edition of this, in 1601, nothing was said as to the end of Bishop Pate. The 2nd edition, however, in 1615, contained the significant addition: "*Flying beyond sea (he) died there.*"

[2] Gairdner, *History of English Church in Sixteenth Century*, pp. 322, 344.

[3] Rymer, t. vi., pars. iv., p. 35.

But little record has come down to us of Bishop Pate's acts at Worcester, during the few years that he was in possession of his See. A story is, however, told of him by Godwin, the Protestant author of *De Præsulibus Angliæ*, as instancing his gentleness of character.

"I have often," writes Godwin, "heard my father tell that, when he was gaining his livelihood as a doctor, in the neighbourhood of Worcester, he was once sent for by [the Bishop], then suffering from a quartan fever; from which disease he cured the Bishop, though it is generally fatal to old men. . . . That he had gone to him, somewhat frightened at the risk he ran; but that he, understanding why he was afraid, had encouraged him by saying: 'I know what you are, and what you think of the Catholic religion. But be assured! For, in the interest of the faith itself, which is not produced in men's minds by force, or fear, but by persuasion, and by reasonable motives, I am determined to inflict no pain, or penalty, on any one.'"[1]

From this we can see how gently and how wisely the holy Bishop strove to win back the misguided members of his flock, who had wandered from the faith. The affection in which Bishop Pate had been held by Cardinal Pole is shown by the fact that, on the latter's death, he and the Bishop of St Asaph were appointed by the new Queen to "attend upon the funerals of the late Lord Cardinal," at the request of Mgr. Priuli, his executor, as having been *his special friends*.[2]

The history of Bishop Pate's imprisonment under Elizabeth has been already given, and it only remains to relate the little that there is to be told about his death, which took place on November the 23rd, 1565.

We saw that, from the Tower, he had passed, in the September of 1563, into the custody of Jewel, by whom it seems he must have been conveyed to Salisbury, though no details have reached us with reference to the year and

[1] *De Præsulibus Angliæ*, p. 471 (ed. 1743). Brought out by Godwin in 1616.

[2] Acts of Privy Council, November 28, 1558.

a half spent by the Confessor in the hands of that rabid hater of the Catholic religion.

The permission granted him by the Council on January the 30th, 1565, to retire on bail to some house in or near to London, probably procured for him, for the little time it lasted, more freedom than he had till then enjoyed —though still, no doubt, under great restraints—and there is every reason for believing that both he and Bishop Turberville, to whom a like permission had been granted, made use of this opportunity to encourage the afflicted Catholics, and to administer the Sacraments to such as could gain access to them. All this, however, was soon put a stop to by the remanding of the Bishops to the Tower on the 4th of June of the same year; when the chief reason alleged for that cruel measure, was that "they might not have liberty to seduce her Majesty's subjects, *as they daily do*." By "seducing" the Queen's subjects was here meant, of course, encouraging them to remain steadfast in their profession of the Catholic faith.

We have seen from Godwin that, even when enjoying full freedom under Mary, Bishop Pate had suffered from a quartan fever; and, with this predisposition to it, it is scarcely possible that he can have gone through six years of confinement, as he now had done, without experiencing a return of this malady, to which prisoners then were so continually falling victims, that it was regularly called the "prison fever." To realise his sufferings, moreover, we must not forget that, during his first confinement in the Tower, he had been reduced to such a state of poverty, as to have been mentioned in 1561 to the Holy Father as one of the five most urgently in need of help.

It is no wonder then that, on being sent back to close imprisonment in the summer of 1565, his health, which was, no doubt, already broken, soon gave way entirely under the solitude and hardships of the Tower.

Passing away thus, as the holy Bishop did, in his prison cell, it is not surprising that we have no actual account of his last moments.

A record, however, has, at least, been preserved to us

of the day on which he died, written by some relative or friend, who held the martyred Bishop's memory in benediction, in the calendar of a Psalter printed in 1528, which is now kept at Exeter College, Oxford. It runs as follows: "Nov. 23, Obitus venerabilis Richardi Pates, Episcopi Wigorniensis, 1565."

In the same calendar are marked the obits of several members of a Catholic family named Cooke (to one of whom the book, apparently, belonged); with those of a number of priests, who died in the first half of Elizabeth's reign.[1]

The venerable Prelate seems to have been laid to rest, with probably but little ceremony, somewhere within the precincts of the Tower, and most likely in that chapel of St Peter ad Vincula, in which had been laid the bodies of the BB. Martyrs John Fisher, Thomas More, and Margaret Pole, like whom he had sacrificed his life for the true faith.

Thus passed to his reward another of those whom Cardinal Allen described, in his answer to Lord Burghley, as "our true Pastors, . . . vexed, spoiled, tormented, *and slain*, against law, nature, and all reason."[2]

We have seen the efforts which those then in power made to conceal their persecution of the faithful Bishops; but the very absence of any monument or other record of the burial of this holy Prelate, who had once held rank in the courts of Emperors and Kings, is of itself proof of the imprisonment in which his days had been ended.

Meantime Dean Seth Holland—who had been seized (as Sander says in his Report to Cardinal Morone) whilst planning a second flight to Rome, and thrown into the prison of King's Bench for his refusal of the oath—had gone to his reward some years before his Bishop.

[1] An account of this "Catholic Necrology under Elizabeth" was given by Mr C. W. Boase, in the *Academy* for April 15, 1876. Amongst the obits, written in the *Calendar*, occur those of the two Archdeacons, John and Nicholas Harpsfield—on August 19, 1578, and December 18, 1575, respectively—who were fellow-sufferers of Bishop Pate's.

[2] *Sincere, Modest Defence, etc.*, p. 41.

By Cardinal Pole Holland had been appointed Warden of All Souls' College, Oxford ; and we learn from Machyn's *Diary* that, when his body was borne forth from the prison to St George's, Southwark, his former subjects and disciples made quite a demonstration in his honour.

"The 6th day of March" [1561], writes Machyn, "was buried in St George's parish in Southwark, the which he came out of the King's Bench, Master Seth Holland, late Dean of Worcester, and the Master of All Souls' College in Oxford; and a sixty men of gentlemen of the Inns of the Courts and of Oxford, brought him to the church, for he was a great learned man." [1]

Dean Holland had been the holder of certain shares in two of the Roman Banks, which he left at his death to Bishop Pate, then himself a prisoner in the Tower.[2] To secure the application of these moneys to certain charitable objects after his own death, the captive Bishop made a will, which was afterwards conveyed to Rome, and is now preserved at the English College.

The fact that the deprived Prelate apparently had no other property of his own to dispose of, except these Roman investments bequeathed to him by a fellow prisoner, confirms what has been said already as to the state of real poverty to which he had been reduced. The reader will not fail to note the touching allusion, which the following extract from the will contains, to the testator's imprisoned condition at the time:—

"Anno Dni. MDLXI.[3] Die vero mensis Februarii 12. In Dei nomine amen. I, Richard Pate, the late Bishop of Worcester, being at this present in competent bodily

[1] *Diary*, p. 252.

[2] A document in Italian, drawn up apparently at Rome in 1580, of which there are two copies in the Westminster Archives, says that "Seth Holland of England left fifteen shares [15 *luoghi*] in the Bank *Monte della Fede*, and six other shares [*sei altri luoghi*] in the Bank *della Farina*—now called *dello Studio*—to the Right Reverend Richard, Bishop of Worcester, who on his own death left in like manner the aforesaid Bank shares with the interest," etc.

[3] New Style, A.D. 1562.

health and of perfect memory, for the uncertainty of my calling out of this transitory life by sickness or otherwise, as Almighty God shall dispose, have thought it good and expedient without further delay to make now my last will and testament in manner and form following: First, I do commend my soul into the merciful hands of Almighty God my Creator, trusting to have her saved by the merits of Jesus Christ, His only begotten Son, my redeemer: And the same by the intercession of our Blessed Lady His Mother, the Virgin Mary, and of all holy Saints of His Catholic Church, as well triumphant in heaven as yet militant in earth: And my body to be decently buried in that parish church where it shall fortune me to die, or otherwhere, at the appointment of my executors, to whose discretion I do refer the order of my funerals to be measured by my power; which funerals made, and my debts discharged, I do bequeath the revenues of my two annuities, the one in *Monte de la fede* and the other in *Monte della farina* within Rome, unto the Right Reverend Father in God Thomas Goldwell, my lord Assaphen, and my dear friend Mr Henry Pyning,[1] to dispense the same for my soul's health upon those persons and unto such godly uses as I have declared by my writing, written with my own hand, signed and sealed, whom for the confidence and experience I have of their sincere love, fidelity, and charity borne me, I do ordain and constitute my full executors hereof, being witness the subscription of this my will, made with mine own hand in my prison, within the Tower of London, the day and year above mentioned and written.

"Ita est: Ego RICHARDUS PATE."

The Bishop then goes on to instruct his executors "forthwith to make an instrument of the conveying the said annuities from you both unto my See and Cathedral Church of Worcester." . . . Nevertheless, he continues, "during the time of this schism goes in the realm, my

[1] Apparently the priest of this name, who had been secretary to Cardinal Pole, and who had borne his letters to Queen Mary at the time of her accession.

will is that no one penny of the said annuities, nor yet any knowledge thereof, should come unto the mentioned Cathedral Church; but the disposition of the same, during the said schism, shall be wholly at your discretions and at the discretion of the longest living of you both, to be bestowed in alms upon our poor country men and women as well religious as secular, which at this present, for conscience' sake, are fled into these parts, and have not wherewith to sustain themselves.

"When it shall please God to send the return of our realm to the unity of Christ's Church, then I would have you convey the instrument before made by you of my donation thereof unto my Cathedral Church: and then the said annuities to be employed upon an obit once in the year for my soul, my father and mother, John and Eleanor Pate, and Mr Seth Hollands, the late Dean of the same: and the ministers of the Church to have 20 nobles for their pains, and to the poor people of Worcester on the same day to be distributed in alms 20 marks, and other 20 marks yearly to be given in exhibition to the help and furtherance of four scholars and students in Gloucester College, in the University of Oxford, and that Worcestershire men to have the preference thereof. . . . And whereas my said testament unto you made is not so formally as the law peradventure requireth, the same not being confirmed by any notary's seal, I must request you, and those unto whom the approbation thereof shall appertain, to consider mine estate at the making thereof, and *how I was at that present a close prisoner for my faith and defence of the unity of Christ's Church in the Tower of London*, and could have none other better mean to express my mind unto you."[1]

The date at the heading of the will shows that it was made during the Bishop's first confinement in the Tower, and about a year after Dean Holland's death. After the Bishop's own demise, it seems to have been taken first, by those entrusted with it, to Louvain, where so many

[1] The will is printed *in extenso*, in the original spelling, in Dr Maziere Brady's *Episcopal Succession*, vol. ii., p. 283.

of the Catholic exiles then were living, and where Sander had just recently been settled as Regius Professor of Theology.

At Louvain, says Dr Maziere Brady, "an examination of witnesses was held to prove the handwriting" of the will, "on the 31st of August 1566." From those who thus, within a year of the holy Confessor's demise, brought his will from England to Louvain, Sander must have been enabled to obtain the surest information as to the fact that he had died for the faith "*in prison*," to which he soon afterwards bore testimony in his *De Visibili*, published in that very city.[1]

The Italian document, which has been already quoted in a previous note, enables us to see how the Bishop's wishes were eventually carried out.

Henry Pyning, one of the executors named by Bishop Pate, seems not to have survived him very long. We learn from this paper that the other, Bishop Goldwell, put into his own place after awhile Dr Brombrick (or Brumbroe), who, on leaving Rome for England—as the Douai Diary shows he did in 1580—"substituted in his place the Rector of the English College, Rome, for the time being, on the following conditions: viz., that the said Rector should be bound to collect the interest of the Bank shares in question, and dividing it into two equal parts, retain one for the alumni of his own College; and send the other by letters of exchange to the College of Rheims in France, or wherever the said College shall be, as long as England shall continue in heresy. On its returning, however, to the Catholic faith, he shall be bound to carry out the wish of the testator by sending the will of the aforesaid Right Reverend Bishop of Worcester, and the interest of the aforesaid shares, to the above-

[1] From the fact that the inquiry into Bishop Pate's will took place at Louvain, Dr Brady (p. 289) was led to conjecture that he *died* there. Such a supposition is effectually excluded by the counter statement of Sander (who could not have failed to hear of it, if the Bishop had died at Louvain), not to mention those of Allen, Bridgewater, and the others quoted in discussing the names of the eleven.

mentioned pious place [Worcester Cathedral], to be there distributed as shown in the will. Meanwhile the two Colleges of Rome and Douai will be bound once a year to celebrate for the soul of the testator himself, Richard of Worcester, and of his father and mother, and of Seth Holland, the original donor, along with other obligations."[1]

It is interesting to know that, in fulfilment of this last-mentioned obligation, the holy Sacrifice has been annually offered since at the English College, Rome, and is so still on October 5, for the intentions of Richard, the last Bishop of Worcester.[2]

[1] Westminster Archives, vol. ii., p. 111. [2] Dr M. Brady, *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XIV

GOOD EFFECT OF THE BISHOPS' CONSTANCY ON CATHOLICS. SANDER AND HARDING NAMED BY ST PIUS V. APOSTOLIC DELEGATES FOR ENGLAND. ACCOUNT OF THE FIDELITY OF THE BISHOPS AND OTHER PERSECUTED CATHOLICS LAID BEFORE THE HOLY SEE IN 1567 BY AN ITALIAN TRAVELLER. DEATH OF BISHOP POOLE OF PETERBOROUGH IN THE FLEET

WE have seen how courageously the deposed Catholic Prelates had all refused to take any part in the new schismatic services, although liberation from their unjust imprisonment had been offered them as the reward of their compliance.

Considering, however, the grievous penalties incurred by disobedience to the new Acts, we can hardly wonder that too many of their people, though all the while still Catholics in faith, were found wanting in the courage necessary to imitate the brave example of their pastors; and that many—hoping that a return to the old state of things would soon be brought about—attempted at first an unworthy compromise, attending the new services at the required times, whilst secretly continuing to practise the old religion.

The prevalence for a time of this unworthy mode of acting is thus described by Cardinal Allen, in a letter dated September 16, 1578: "Not only," he says, "did laymen, who believed the faith in their hearts, and who heard Mass when they could at home, frequent the schismatical

churches, and even sometimes communicate, but even many priests said Mass in secret, and then celebrated the heretical offices and supper in public—thus often on the same day becoming partakers (oh horrible impiety!) of the chalice of the Lord and of the chalice of devils. And this arose from the false persuasion that it was enough to hold the faith interiorly, whilst obeying the sovereign in externals, especially in singing psalms and parts of Scripture in the vulgar tongue, a thing which seemed to them indifferent, and, in persons otherwise virtuous, worthy of toleration on account of the terrible rigour of the laws."

In the same letter, however, Cardinal Allen mentions, amongst the first causes which gradually brought about a better state of things, the silent effect of the example set by the imprisoned Bishops.

"Reflecting on the former times," he says, "the older and more prudent men easily saw that there was no holiness or solidity in the new sect. In point of wisdom, holiness, learning, hospitality, and government, they contrasted the imprisoned Catholic Bishops and ecclesiastics with those new superintendent pseudo-bishops, and other learned men in exile with their own teachers at home; and they used secretly to complain sometimes in their families of the misfortune that their sons should be obliged to employ such instructors, by whom, instead of being trained to piety, they were ruined and corrupted. . . . Thus—seeing that their parents and elders were of a different mind at home from that which they professed in public—very many young men, either because they did not fear the laws and the consequences as much as their parents did; or because at their age, and under their parents' care, they were not subject to the same grievous fines; or else because they were less attached to worldly goods, and less held back by sins than their elders were, made open profession of the Catholic faith; and when ordered by the magistrates or by their parents to come to the church and heretical communion, refused entirely to do so."[1]

[1] Dr Allen to Dr Vendeville. Published in the original Latin, in *Letters and Memorials of Cardinal Allen*, p. 55.

It was only, however, by their prayers, and by the silent force of their own example, that the Bishops—shut up, as they were, in prison, and cut off from all excepting the most casual communication with their people — could oppose the evil which called for vigorous action to repress it.

For this purpose St Pius V., who was elected to the Papal throne on the 7th of January, 1566, made it one of his first cares to set before the minds of English Catholics the sinfulness of participating in the new schismatic form of worship, in spite of the persecution in which their refusal so to do involved them. Soon after his election, therefore, he held a Consistory, in which he nominated Dr Nicholas Sander and Dr Thomas Harding—as then the two most distinguished of the exiled English clergy—his Apostolic Delegates, especially charged with the commission of making known in England his condemnation of the practice of attending the newly established service. At the same time he bestowed on them full powers for absolving from heresy and schism, as well as for granting like faculties to other priests.

This nomination of Sander and Harding, as Papal Delegates for England, was thought by Camden sufficiently important to be mentioned in his *Annales*;[1] and certainly the fact that the Holy Father found it necessary to entrust such powers to two simple priests, is of itself the best proof that could have been given of the severity of the imprisonment of the seven faithful Bishops still surviving in the country. Of these it would seem that five were then in the Tower, whilst the Bishops of London and of Peterborough were in the Marshalsea and Fleet.

At the time of their appointment, Sander and Harding were both at Louvain, and St Pius's instructions as to the authority committed to them were conveyed to them from Rome by a priest named Laurence Vaux, who afterwards died a prisoner for the faith; and who, under Queen Mary, had been warden of the Collegiate Church of Manchester.

[1] *Annales*, p. 132 (ed. 1615).

Vaux was himself especially commissioned by the Delegates to make known the Pope's decision to the Catholics of Lancashire; and, in the performance of this duty, he caused to be circulated amongst them a letter explaining his commission, which is of especial interest to us in consequence of its appeal to the example of the faithful Bishops then languishing in prison on account of their refusal to attend the very services in question. The letter was dated November the 2nd, 1566, and a copy of it, captured by the agents of the Government, is still preserved amongst the *State Papers.*

The reader will readily forgive the length of the following extracts from it:—

"Concerning Mr Dr Sander's letter, I am charged to make a definite sentence that all such as offer children to the baptism now used, or be present at the communion of service now used in churches in England, as well the laity as the clergy, do not walk in the state of salvation; neither we may not communicate or associate ourselves in company with schismatics or heretics in divine things. . . . Ye must not think this to be any severity or rigorousness of the Pope Pius V. that now is God's Vicar in earth, to whom at this present God hath appointed the government of His Church on earth, who for his singular virtues and sundry miracles that God by him hath wrought excelleth all his predecessors that hath been since St Gregory's time. . . . By my special friend I was brought into his chamber to hear him speak himself what a benefit was granted in the Consistory for England, to the intent I might make more plain declaration to Mr Dr Sanders, and to Mr Dr Harding, concerning the authority granted unto them in the Consistory by the Pope for the souls' health of them that dwell in England; and for because I did partly know their commission, the said doctors earnestly requested and moved me to come into England, for, as they thought, I might be able to give some instruction to such as have authority under them in England as occasion serveth. They wrote to me, they put me in trust, and charged me

to signify the truth to others that now be deceived through ignorance in matters of faith and conscience. I must, therefore, without halting, colouring, or dissembling, tell you that the Pope cannot dispense any of the laity to entangle themselves with the schism, as is afore written concerning sacraments and service, that ye may not be present amongst them. If ye associate yourselves at sacraments or service, it is contrary to the unity of Christ's Church: ye fall into schism, that is to say, ye be separated from Christ's Church. . . . It is no small danger to continue in schism; and ordinarily no priest in England hath authority to absolve from schism, except he have his authority from the Catholic See by Mr Dr Sanders and Mr Dr Harding. . . . *There is not one of the old Bishops* or godly priests of God *that will be present at the schismatical service or damnable communion* now used: for the which cause they have lost their livings; *some be in corporal prison*, some in exile,[1] and, like good pastors, be ready to suffer death in that cause, as it is the duty and office of the Bishops to go before their flock, and to (be) their leaders in matters of faith in religion. So the clergy and laity are bounden to follow their examples, if they intend to be partakers with the Bishops of the joys of heaven. And thanks be to God, a number not only of the clergy, but as well of the temporality, both of them that be worshipful and inferiors to them, *do follow their Bishops constantly*, and will in no wise come at the schismatical service. And such as frequenteth the schismatical service now used in the Church of England, must either contemn them as fond, foolish men, that refuse to be present at service, or else their own consciences will accuse them that they do naughty in that they do contrary to the example given them of the Bishops. . . . "[2]

This authoritative letter bears direct evidence both to

[1] The only *exiled* Bishop then still living was Bishop Goldwell, but priests are mentioned here as well as Bishops.

[2] Vaux's letter is printed *in extenso*, in the *Rambler* for December, 1857, new series, vol. viii., p. 403, from *R. O. Domestic. Elizabeth*, vol. xii., Article 1.

the fact of the continued imprisonment of the faithful Prelates, and to the fruit which their example had produced upon their people; and it will be seen at once how futile would have been the above appeal, if all the while the Bishops had been really living in the easy, comfortable manner pictured by so many later writers.

Another unlooked-for testimony to the same effect, and belonging to the next year, 1567, has been found by the present writer, amongst the Roman Transcripts, at the Record Office, made from papers preserved in the Archives of the Vatican.

The paper in question is a letter addressed to Cardinal Gianfrancesco Commendone, who has been already spoken of as having been sent over, in his younger days, to Queen Mary immediately after her accession by Cardinal Dandino, then Legate to the Emperor at Brussels. So well known was Cardinal Commendone's continued interest in everything connected with the welfare of the Church in England, that to him, conjointly with Cardinal Morone, Sander, in 1571, dedicated his great work *De Visibili.*

In the present instance, the writer of the letter to be laid before the reader (a certain Mgre. Caligari, who afterwards was Papal Nuncio in Poland, and Bishop of Forlimpopoli and Bertinoro, near Ravenna), enclosed to Cardinal Commendone an account of the condition of the English Catholics and of the imprisoned Bishops, written for the purpose by a devout Italian gentleman, who, after spending several years in this country engaged, apparently, in commerce, had returned to Italy not long before the date of Caligari's letter, written on December 6, 1567. The following is a translation of the transcript taken at the Vatican by Mr Bliss, which has nowhere yet been published:—

"Letter of Giovanni Andrea Caligari, on the 6th day of December, 1567, to the Lord Cardinal Commendone.

"Most illustrious and reverend and most respected Lord,

"A very judicious young man of our people [*de nostri*]

has just recently returned from England, in which kingdom he has been for more than five years engaged in business; and, having much to say with reference to the condition of the Catholics and of the heretics there, he has frequently talked to me at length about these matters, and about the good that our Lord [the Pope] might do in that kingdom by sending some one to visit and console those poor ones who are imprisoned for His Holiness's sake, and to keep His Holiness regularly informed of what happens in that kingdom, in the hope that some day, by God's grace, some good might result. Not knowing myself what at all may be the value of this suggestion, I have asked him to put it down in writing, with a view to sending it to your Lordship, who, being well acquainted with that kingdom, will be able to make of it what your own wise judgment may deem proper. He has now written it, and I enclose his paper. He is remaining for the present in this country, and any further information that may be desired will be able to be obtained from him. If I had thought that any mischief could come from the matter, I would not have moved in it; but since it appears to me a thing which may prove of considerable service, and which can do no harm, I did not like not to inform your lordship of it, feeling sure that you will believe my good intention and my constant wish to do what shall be pleasing to you. I humbly kiss your hand. From the Parish Church of Thò (*dalla Pieve del Thò*),[1] the 6th of December, 1567.

"Your most Illustrious and Reverend Lordship's humble and devoted servant, Gio. And[a] Caligari."

The following are the more interesting portions of the long letter of the returned traveller, which was enclosed to Cardinal Commendone in that of Mgre. Caligari:—

[1] The writer of this book has not been able to find any place exactly answering to this name in modern atlases. Ughelli, in his *Italia Sacra*, t. ii., p. 589, mentions Brisighella, in the Diocese of Faenza, as the native place of Giovanni Andrea Caligari (apparently the writer of this letter), who, in 1579, became Bishop of Forlimpopoli and Bertinoro. It may be that the parish of Thò lay in one or other of these Romagna Dioceses.

"Having returned a few months ago from England, and understanding that your Lordship was anxious to learn some particulars as to the religious affairs of that kingdom and the condition of the Catholics who are there imprisoned; in order to satisfy this wish, I have drawn up this brief account, or report, if so it may be called. Your Lordship will, in the first place, understand that I have been engaged in business there for nearly all the time that Queen Elizabeth has reigned, and continuously for the last five years; and, not only in the city of London, but also in various other parts of the kingdom, and especially towards the north; and that during that time—as happens when one has business in a country— I have found opportunities of knowing various kinds of people, both amongst the nobility and gentry, tradespeople also and others, and a good many students of the two Universities, and especially of that of Oxford. From my intercourse with these . . . I affirm it, as a fact, that I have found amongst them an immense number of good Christians and true Catholics, and that they hold in such veneration the name and authority of the Holy See and of our Sovereign Pontiff, that more could not be desired; though they cannot show this openly in act, on account of the severe edicts of her who reigns at present, which oblige them to the contrary. From this it seems to me that in reality great injustice is done to them by some who, to my thinking, have but little knowledge—who, on hearing England mentioned, at once exclaim: 'They are all heretics!' at which, I who have had experience of them, cannot in truth but for their sake feel pained, for the sake namely of the good true Catholics, who form, I do not fear to say, two-thirds of that kingdom.

"In addition to them *there are also those poor imprisoned Bishops*, Doctors, and others in great number, who, rather than consent to the heresies of their opponents, and acknowledge the Queen to be the *supremum caput Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, are willing to suffer all the inconveniences of the prisons, not even refusing to die, if it be necessary; as has been proved in the case of Mgr. Doner [*Bonner*],

kindness, *being always at liberty* [*liber semper*], and he died at a good age on his own estate."[1]

In direct contradiction, however, to such accounts as this, are the assertions of all the Catholic writers of the time itself, by whom, as has been shown already, the name of Bishop Poole is unanimously placed in the list of those who gave up their lives in prison for the faith.

Even Camden mentions him amongst those who "were first sent to prison;"[2] whilst Foxe, in naming him amongst "the residue of the persecuting clergy" that "were deprived and committed to prisons," adds the remark: "Of David Pool, Bishop of Peterborough, I doubt whether he was in the Tower, or some other prison."[3]

Scanty though our information is with reference to Bishop Poole, sufficient evidence remains to show that each of the assertions, made in his regard by Andrewes, is untrue.

His deprivation took place about the beginning of November 1559, the spiritualities of his See having been seized on the 11th of that month;[4] and that even from the first, in spite of his grave illness, he was not left at liberty, is shown by the mention of him in a list of Recusants, drawn up in 1562 by Grindal, Cox, and three others of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, in which we find the following:—

"Doctor Poole, late Bishop of Peterborough, to remain in the counties of Middlesex, or Buckingham, or the city of London and suburbs, or within three miles compass about the same." In the margin stands the note: "A man known and reported to live quietly, and therefore hitherto tolerated."[5]

Thus even at this time, though he was doubtless too much incapacitated by his illness to cause much anxiety to

[1] *Tortura Torti*, p. 146. [2] *Annales*, ed. 1615, p. 36.

[3] Vol. iii., p. 804 (ed. 1684).

[4] Bridgett, *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 81.

[5] *Calendar, Eliz. Dom. Addenda*, vol. xi., p. 45, 1561. Dr Gee gives reasons for the real date of this list of Recusants being 1562, in his *Elizabethan Clergy*, p. 175.

the Government, it is clear that the Commissioners kept the Bishop under their surveillance, and did not leave him free to choose his own abode.

In the next year came the plague of 1563, when the other Bishops were distributed, as we have seen, in the Protestant Bishops' houses in the country; and it probably was at this time that Bishop Poole was allowed to go from London to the house of a Staffordshire gentleman, named Bryan Fowler, where we next hear of him in 1564.

In this Catholic gentleman's house at Sowe, situated on the river of the same name, the Confessor found a place of shelter, from which for a little time apparently he was able to keep up some communication with the faithful clergy of his own and other Dioceses.

In the autumn, however, of 1564, an inquiry was instituted by the Council into the religion of the gentlemen of the various counties, who then held the office of Justices of the Peace—amongst whose number was Mr Bryan Fowler; and for the purpose of ascertaining how many of the gentry of each county still were Catholics, the Protestant Bishops were required to send in an exact return of all such to the Council, and at the same time to make suggestions with a view to the "remedy of disorders."

A number of the returns, which were sent in to the Government in consequence, are published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission from the Hatfield Papers; and amongst them is the one for Staffordshire, which was supplied by Dr Bentham, the Protestant Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. It is this latter document—dated November 10, 1564—that discloses to us both the fact of Bishop Poole's residence at that time in the house of Mr Fowler; and also the suggestion made by Bentham, which led to his removal to a prison. In it is found the following:—

"Whereas the country is too much hinderly in all good things pertaining to religion, yet the abiding of Doctor Poole, late Bishop of Peterboro', with Bryan Fowler, Esquire, causeth many people to think worse of the regiment and religion than else they would do, because

divers lewd priests have resort thither. *His removal would do much good to the country.*"[1]

Considering that the whole purpose of the inquiry, which had been instituted by the Council, was to stamp out, as far as possible, the observance of the old religion amongst the country gentlemen, and to break down the influence of the priests and Bishops here described as "lewd"; it would be foolish to suppose that, after expressly asking for suggestions from him, no attention was paid by the Council to this request of Bentham's for Bishop Poole's removal from the house of Mr Fowler.

That, at his death, he was no longer in the hands of friends, but, on the contrary, in a prison, is made certain to us from the statements made to that effect by Sander, only three years later in his *De Visibili*, as also both by Rishton and Bridgewater; whilst in addition another document still happily existing enables us to trace the actual prison in which the Bishop's days were ended. This is the will, made by him just before his death, which seems to take away all doubt that then, at all events, he was a prisoner in the Fleet—the same prison in which Bishop Scott had been formerly confined. The will of Bishop Poole is dated May the 17th, 1568, and was proved on the 6th of July of that same year. His death therefore had most likely taken place before the end of May. The following are the words with which it opens.

"In the name of God, amen. I, David Pole, Doctor of Law, sometime and very late Bishop of Peterborough, sick in body and perfect of mind and memory (praise be to God), make my will and testament in manner and form following. First, I bequeath my soul to Almighty God, and to the Blessed Virgin St Mary, and all the holy company of heaven. And my body to be buried in any

[1] Hist. MSS. Com. Calendar of MSS. of Marquis of Salisbury, part i., 1883, p. 309.

sanctified place according to the discretion of my executors and friends, as case shall require."[1]

This commendation, made by the dying Confessor of his soul to God and Our Blessed Lady, reminds us that he had been consecrated Bishop in 1557, on the feast of Our Lady's assumption into heaven.

First amongst the bequests made by the Bishop to various friends and benefactors, stands the following: "To Master Bryan Fowler, Esquire, a gilt goblet with a cover gilt having a white pearl in the top of it," and "five pounds in money." "Item . . . to Mistress Fowler five pounds in money, and a goblet parcel-gilt of the same bigness as Master Fowler's goblet aforesaid, with a cover to the same parcel gilt also."

This same Mr Bryan Fowler, who in 1564 had so kindly sheltered the deprived Bishop in his house, was destined himself some years later to suffer much persecution for the faith; being forced continually, in the year 1575, to appear before the Council as a recusant, and being even subjected at times to imprisonment, in the Protestant Bishop of Worcester's house, and in the Fleet itself."[2]

What seems to make it clear, however, that the Fleet was the prison in which the venerable Bishop's days were ended, is the marked and frequent reference made in his will to another celebrated Confessor of the faith, Sir Thomas Fitzherbert, who had then already been for years an inmate of that prison, and who continued to be there confined long after the Bishop's death.

Nevertheless, notwithstanding Sir Thomas's imprisoned state, to him alone the Bishop seems to have confided his full wishes as to the disposal of his property; for not only did he name him his executor in chief, but he also stipulated that, in case of his not being able himself to take action, the others should in all things defer to him.

[1] A copy of Bishop Poole's will has been kindly taken for the present writer by Mr R. Raikes Bromage from the P.C. Canterbury Registers (P.C.C. 14 Babington).

[2] Acts of Privy Council, August 19 and December 7, 1575.

This close understanding between the Bishop and the Knight seems to make it plain that they were both confined in one same prison.

That Sir Thomas Fitzherbert had been committed to the Fleet, at least as early as 1562, is shown by the same Return of Recusants, drawn up that year by Grindal and other Commissioners, which has been already quoted as naming Bishop Poole, as then restricted to the neighbourhood of London. In this, under the heading: "Prisoners in the Fleet by order of us" (*i.e.*, the Commissioners), occurs the following: "Sir Thomas Fitzherbert, Knight, Dr Scott, late Bishop of Chester," etc. The reason of this severe treatment of Sir Thomas at that early period is to be gathered from the following statement made by the Commissioners in the same Return:—

"We are informed that through the example of Sir Thomas Fitzharbert, John Sacheverell, and John Draycott, Esquires, being by us committed to prison and so remaining, and through the bearing and supporting of their wives, friends, kinsfolks, allies, and servants, a great part of the shires of Stafford and Derby are generally evil inclined towards religion, and forbear coming to church and participating of the sacraments."[1]

The urging by Bentham, in 1564, of precisely similar reasons for Bishop Poole's removal from the house of Mr Fowler was doubtless deemed by Grindal and his fellow Commissioners sufficient ground for withdrawing their former boasted "tolerance" of the Bishop, and would naturally lead to his being sent to the same prison, regardless of his age and numerous infirmities.

That Sir Thomas Fitzherbert was then still a prisoner is shown by the failure—mentioned in a letter of August 7, 1565—of a suit which was made on his behalf to Grindal by Sir Thomas Challoner;[2] and, although he seems to

[1] *Cal. Dom. Add. Eliz.*, 1561, vol. xi., p. 45.

[2] *Cal. Dom.*, 1547-1580, p. 255. "Francis Challoner to Mr Ferres." "The suit of his brother, Sir Thom. Challoner, to the Bishop of London for Sir Thom. Fitzherbert, was without success."

have been allowed to go for awhile to his place at Norbury in Derbyshire, in the August of 1569,[1] he is again spoken of as still a prisoner in the Fleet in the April of 1570.[2] In the end this heroic Confessor died in the Tower in 1591, after spending (as a document of 1594 declares) "thirty-two continuous years in prison for the faith."[3]

With Sir Thomas, Bishop Poole named also, as executor to his will, "Mr John Wilkinson, citizen of London, dwelling at the gate from Paul's Church unto Watling Street in London." Foreseeing, however, that Sir Thomas might not be able to execute the will "in his own person," he appointed, in that case, Martin Awdeley, his servant, "to do all things therein as the said Sir Thomas shall appoint him, as his deputy, and to make reckoning to the said Sir Thomas of all things that he doth." The Bishop also expressly stated "that the said Sir Thomas shall not need to appear before any judge about the execution" of the will; and, in case of this being required, he willed him "utterly to be discharged thereof, and that the said Martin be full executor with Mr Wilkinson to do all things." Nevertheless, even in this case, he desired "the said Sir Thomas to confer by means with the said Mr Wilkinson concerning the execution of this my testament, although he cannot in proper person follow the same." All this makes it clear that to Sir Thomas Fitzherbert the Bishop had made known his full wishes.

Without enumerating all the small legacies to various friends and servants, it is enough to mention that to each of his two executors, the Bishop left "seven pounds in money," "a gilt goblet," and a ring; a ring also to Lady Fitzherbert; and to Mistress Wilkinson, "a gilt cup with a cover, which Queen Mary gave me for a New Year's gift."

Moreover, "to Mrs Costons, dwelling in Paul's Churchyard in London, which keeps certain stuff of mine," he left "twenty shillings."

[1] Hist. MSS. Com. MSS. of Marquis of Salisbury, Part I., p. 504.
[2] *Cal. Dom.*, 1547-1580, p. 372, sect. 86.
[3] *Letters and Memoirs of Cardinal Allen*, p. 375.

The chief part of his books, "both of Law and of Divinity, that be at Peterborough and at London," he bequeathed "to All Souls' College in Oxford," of which he had been a Fellow, "beseeching the company there, in consideration of my poverty at my latter end, to fetch the said books and to bring them to the College on their own charges."

The books, thus left to his old College by the venerable Bishop, are there still preserved in the Library of All Souls.[1]

"The residue" of his goods, "the bequests paid and debts contented," the Bishop willed to "be bestowed in deeds of charity, and namely for the soul's health of Master Thomas Powell, to whom sometime I was executor, and Mr Stephen Sagar likewise."

At the end are mentioned one or two bequests of small personal effects, left apparently to fellow-prisoners as mementos, which seem to show the affectionate veneration with which the holy Bishop was regarded by his fellow-sufferers: thus—"To Mr George Lee, my velvet tippet for a token"; and "to Sir William Stapleton" (apparently a priest), "my single cloth gown, which I accustomed to wear, and six shillings, eightpence, in money."

The Bishop's signature is followed by those of five witnesses: viz., of Henry Fowler (perhaps a relative of Brian Fowler), William Stapleton, and Richard Bolbet; and of his servants Richard Turner and Martin Awdeley.

The will, which was signed, as has been said, by Bishop Poole on May 17, was sworn to on the following July 6, by John Lewis, public notary, on behalf of Sir Thomas Fitzherbert; and by John Wilkinson and Martin Awdeley.

Andrewes has described him as having "died upon his own estate" (*in agro suo*); but the Bishop's will may be searched in vain for any mention of landed property belonging to him; unless we take as such his desire for a

[1] The writer owes his thanks to Mr G. Holden, the Librarian of All Souls' College, for the information that "the donors' Book of the Library records a list, consisting of some 169 items, of the David Pole benefaction."

"kinswoman and her husband to have the commodity" of a certain "house in the town"; though, what town is the one referred to, is not explained.

Father Bridgett quotes from Willis's *Survey of Cathedrals* (vol. iii., p. 505), a strange mistake made by its writer, who, whilst professing to have seen the will of Bishop Poole, says that one of his executors was "*his own Archdeacon Binnesley*"![1]

Archdeacon Binnesley, so far from imitating the constancy and self-sacrifice of his Bishop, had retained his archdeaconry by conforming miserably to the new religion; and it would have been indeed surprising to find the holy Confessor, who, on account of his own refusal so to do, was now dying in a prison, appointing such a one to act as his executor.

Enough has been said already to show that his real executor was of a very different character from this. It is true, nevertheless, that Binnesley is mentioned in the Bishop's will, though not at all in the way supposed by Willis, who must have read it with extremely little care. It seems that this Archdeacon Binnesley and two other Peterborough Prebendaries who had fallen like him, had somehow got possession of certain articles, partly of ecclesiastical apparel, partly of domestic furniture, belonging to the Bishop, who, whilst content for peace sake, to leave the latter to them, refused to sanction their retention of anything of his connected with religion.

The following is the full passage in the will:—

"I bequeath to Master William Binnesley, Archdeacon of Northampton, and to Mr Christopher Hodgson, and to Mr Thurstone Morrey, Prebendaries in the Cathedral Church at Peterborough, all such stuff as they have amongst them of mine, as household stuff and bedding with other implements, desiring them of all loves to divide them equally amongst themselves, and to agree in that behalf; reserving to the discretion and disposition of my executors my kirtle of scarlet lined with changeable silk,

[1] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 81.

and my chimere of scarlet lined, as I suppose, with black damask, and an old murray gown, and certain fine rochets which be there."

By withholding from these faithless priests the above articles of ecclesiastical apparel, including even the "old murray gown," the Bishop made quite plain his condemnation of their conduct.

If the Bishop of Peterborough was committed to the Fleet, as we suppose, in the November of 1564, he must, when he died in the May of 1568, have been imprisoned there for full three years and a half; and the real martyrdom which this must have meant to him, considering his age and invalid condition, will easily be seen, when we call to mind what imprisonment involved in those days.

It is quite possible, moreover, that, like the other Bishops in the Tower, Bishop Poole was committed as *a close prisoner* to the Fleet—the hardships of which condition have already been described. But supposing even he was not—we may gather something as to what life then was in the Fleet—even under the most advantageous circumstances—from a document quoted by Father Bridgett with reference to Bishop Scott's confinement in that prison only a little time before. Amongst the regulations made for the government of the Fleet prison in 1560 or 1561 (and still in force, we may suppose, in the time of Bishop Poole), we find the following, which reveals to us the extortionate sums, which were then exacted from a prisoner, who wished to live with any decency :—

"'That the Warden shall take of every man or woman that shall sit at the parlour-commons, 2s. 4d. weekly for his bed and chamber, and of every man or woman that shall sit at the hall-commons, 14d. for his bed and chamber, lying like prisoners, two in a bed together.' In addition to this 2s. 4d. for the privilege of sleeping alone, the Bishop [Scott] had to pay 18s. 6d. a week for his board. This we know by a document signed by him: 'We, the prisoners undernamed, having deliberately consulted thereupon, do now agree, with the assent of the

Warden, that every person of the degrees hereunder written, for their weekly commons and wine, over and besides the rate for their bed and chamber, shall weekly pay—a knight, a doctor of divinity, and other having 200 marks a year living, 18s. 6d. An esquire, a gentleman, or other person at parlour-commons shall pay for their weekly commons and wine, 10s.' Thus, then, for board and lodging in the Fleet, the unfortunate prisoners who wished to maintain some decency paid more than £1 a week, or about £10 a week in modern value."[1]

In this prison, then, the cells of which were sanctified by the sufferings of so many of our Confessors and Martyrs,—as they were at this very time by those of the B. Thomas Woodhouse,—our holy Bishop seems to have breathed his last. No record of his burial has, as yet, been found; but it is most probable that he was laid to rest in the churchyard of the neighbouring St Bride's, which was the regular burying-place of the Fleet prison and its precincts. Its existing Register, however, only begins about the year 1587.[2]

[1] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 74.

[2] Letter of the Sexton of St Bride's, July 2, 1904, in answer to an inquiry from Mr R. Raikes Bromage.

CHAPTER XV

BISHOP BONNER OF LONDON. INJUSTICE OF THE POPULAR TRADITION WITH REGARD TO HIM. HIS TEN YEARS OF IMPRISONMENT, AND THE ATTEMPTS TO BRING HIM TO THE SCAFFOLD. HIS DEATH IN 1569

ALTHOUGH—by reason of the abuse which his enemies have heaped upon him—the name of Bishop Edmund Bonner is more generally known than those of any of his fellow Confessor, or Martyr, Bishops, he has as yet been little more than mentioned by us, for the simple reason that, having been kept almost from the first confined apart from the rest, the history of his imprisonment must necessarily be told by itself.

Moreover, the unjust and ungrounded detestation in which he has been, and is still, held by many, makes it quite necessary, before entering on his history, to try first to set in its true light the character of this really great and admirable Prelate.

If, indeed, Bishop Bonner, on whom writers such as Bale and Foxe have fixed the odious epithet of *Bloody*, had been in reality what his enemies described him, it would have been, not only a useless but a shocking thing to speak of him along with Saints and Martyrs.

It happens, however, most providentially for our purpose that the untruthfulness and real injustice of the accounts, which these and other writers of the Puritan school have too long made traditional, has in our own days been exposed by non-Catholic writers of the highest character and standing.

MARSHALSEA, in its last stage of existence, abolished as a Prison in 1849.

(*Crace's "Views of London."*) [*To face p.* 292.

When we turn, moreover, to the writings of the persecuted Bishop's Catholic contemporaries, in these we can find nothing but expressions of the deepest veneration and affection.

Thus, for instance, whilst he was still languishing alive in prison, we find Harding describing him to Jewel, in 1567, as "*that constant Confessor of God*";[1] and in replying in that same year to Horne, who had made a reference to the Bishops' earlier yielding to King Henry, Stapleton is found indignantly demanding in words which have been already quoted: "What mean you, then, to allege the judgments of Dr Gardiner, Dr Thirlby, Dr Tunstall, and Dr Bonner; since you know that all those changed their minds upon better advice? Or why died Dr Tunstall in prison? Or why lie the other learned godly Bishops yet in prison, if they are of your mind? . . . Dr Thirlby and Dr Bonner, whom you so impudently make to speak as proctors in your cause . . . *are ready to shed their blood against this your opinion.*"[2]

Similarly Cardinal Allen, in his *Defence of English Catholics*,[3] speaks more than once of "*the noble Confessor and Bishop of London*," whom the persecutors had "abused by all sorts of villainy"; and we shall see how, in telling of the persecutions he endured, the Spanish ambassador simply describes him in his letters as "the *good* Bishop of London."

These few examples show sufficiently the light in which Bishop Bonner was regarded by his contemporary fellow-Catholics; viz., as an innocent and much-suffering Confessor of the faith. If he had been in reality the brutal and coarse-minded man of blood depicted by his enemies, it would have been impossible for Catholic writers of the time to have spoken of him with the loving veneration that they did.

Even a bitter opponent such as Jewel, in relating an incident intended by him to exemplify the abhorrence

[1] *Rejoinder to Mr Jewel's Reply*, Louvain, 1567, p. 252 b.
[2] *Counterblast to Mr Horne's Vain Blast*, 1567, p. 367.
[3] P. 40.

with which Bonner was regarded, found himself obliged to admit the refined courteousness of the Bishop both in manners and appearance. For in telling his friend Peter Martyr, in the June of 1560, of Bonner's committal to the Marshalsea, he says:—

"The Bishop of London is in his old lodging, which he formerly occupied in King Edward's time. When he was conveyed thither, and had arrived in the interior of the prison, where—*being a most courteous man, and gentlemanly both in his manners and appearance*—he politely saluted the prisoners who were present, and addressed them as his friends and companions; one of them immediately disclaimed this, and cried out, 'Do you take me, you brute, for a companion of yours? Go to hell, as you deserve; you will find companions there. As for me, I only slew one individual, and that not without reason; while you have causelessly murdered vast numbers of holy men, martyrs of Christ, witnesses and maintainers of the truth. Besides, I, indeed, am sorry for what I did, while you are so hardened that I know not whether you can be brought to repentance.'"[1]

To most readers, the cheerful kindness of the unjustly deposed and imprisoned Prelate will probably seem more impressive than the ignorant fanaticism of the avowed homicide, who made this insulting speech.

The extraordinary patience with which the good Bishop submitted to ill-treatment, is well shown by an incident of his earlier confinement in the same prison, which Sander relates in his Report to Cardinal Morone.

"When under Edward VI. he was confined for five continuous years in a most miserable prison, and the governor of the prison, who hoped to get something from him, had threatened to treat him in future more severely, and in particular to take away his bed, the courageous

[1] *Zurich Letters.* Jewel to P. Martyr, June 1, 1560. First Series, p. 34.

Confessor said: 'If you attempt such a thing, I know well what I shall do.' 'What?' asked the gaoler, expecting him to say that he would lay a complaint before some member of the Council. 'I shall lie,' he replied, 'upon the floor.' And this, when the gaoler took away his bed, he actually did; nor made complaint to anyone of the injustice."

The truthfulness of the above account by Sander is confirmed by what we find recorded, amongst the events of January 1549, in the contemporary Chronicle of the London Grey Friars:—

"Item of the great gentleness that was showed unto the Bishop of London, Edmund Bonner, being prisoner in the Marshalsea, the 8th day of January, of the Knight Marshal taking away his bed, and so that he had no more to lie but straw and a coverlet for the space of eight days, for because he would not give the Knight Marshal *x* li, or a gown of that price."[1]

This incident enables us to see how utterly the unhappy prisoners of those days—no matter however high their rank—were at the mercy of their gaoler; when £10 (*i.e.*, at least a £100 at present value) could be demanded from them, as the price even of a bed to lie on.

A little further on in the same *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, we find recorded an account of the good Bishop's release from prison and restoration to his Bishopric on the accession of Queen Mary, which makes it very evident that—however much he may have been detested by the Protestant reforming party—there was at all events a large section of the London populace with whom he was then really popular, and by whom he was regarded with affection.

[1] *Chronicle of the Grey Friars*, London, Camden Society, 1852, p. 65.

"1553. The 5th of August, at 7 o'clock at night, came home Edmund Bonner, Bishop, from the Marshalsea, like a Bishop; that all the people by the way bade him welcome home (both) man and woman; and as many of the women as might kissed him: and so came to St Paul's, and knelt on the steps and said his prayers; and then the people rang the bells for joy; and when he left the Marshalsea there came in Doctor Cox[1] for him" (*i.e.*, in his place).[2]

As showing the judgment of a non-catholic writer, we may quote the words of the fair-minded Mr Gairdner, who refers to Bishop Bonner, as "*that much reviled Prelate*"; and who speaks as follows of him, in connection with the execution of a poor lad named Richard Mekins, who under Henry VIII. was burnt in 1541 for holding consubstantiation, though very penitent for it before his execution.

"No abjuration," writes Mr Gairdner, "under so severe an Act (that of the Six Articles) admitted such an offender to pardon. . . . But though it was impossible to save him under a law of such severity, he was visited in prison by the Bishop of London, who ministered to him all the consolation that one doomed to die could receive from a spiritual father; and the poor lad at his death confessed the great kindness and humanity shown him by Bishop Bonner. There are indeed other evidences that Bishop Bonner was by no means the heartless persecutor that history, on the faith of Puritan writers, has taken him to be. He was a man who had his faults, but they were not of the kind represented. A man of high culture and great accomplishments, he could wink at vice in high places, and he could outrage all conventionalism to do his King a service. He could insult another King to his face, or irritate extremely the Pope himself,[3] in order to advance his sovereign's policy; *but to prisoners in his hands he was really kind, gentle, and considerate.* Over their ultimate

[1] Under Elizabeth, Protestant Bishop of Ely.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 82.

[3] Mr Gairdner is here speaking of Bonner's conduct, when in schism under Henry, which, of course, cannot be defended.

fate, it must be remembered, he had no control, when once they were declared to be irreclaimable heretics and handed over to the secular power; but he always strove by gentle suasion first to reconcile them to the Church, as it was his duty to do. As Bishop of London, he naturally had more heretics to deal with than any other Bishop; but there is no appearance of his straining the law against them."[1]

We see how in this passage Mr Gairdner attributes the current popular tradition, as to Bishop Bonner's cruelty, to the influence of the Puritans.

As long ago as 1849, the self-same remark was made, in his *Essays on the Reformation*, by Dr Maitland, the Librarian of Lambeth Palace. This unbiassed writer, for the very reason, as he says himself, that he saw how much we depend "for the history of the Reformation in England on the testimony of writers . . . belonging, or more or less attached, to the Puritan party," was led to devote his first two essays to the subject of "Puritan Veracity." In the first of these he writes as follows:—

"There is something very frank (one is almost inclined to say honest) in the avowals, either direct or indirect, which various Puritans have left on record, that it was considered not only allowable, but meritorious *to tell lies for the sake of the good cause in which they were engaged*, and for the benefit of those who were fellow-helpers in it. The case is not merely that the charitable partizan looked with compassion on the weak brother who denied his faith under the dread of cruel torments, or stood by with pitying and loving connivance while he told a lie as to some matter of fact, to save his own life, or lives dearer than his own. It is, that they did not hesitate without any such urgent temptation, and with great deliberation and solemnity, to state what they knew to be false; and that the manner in which such falsehoods were avowed by those who told them, and recorded by their friends and admirers, is sufficient

[1] *English Church in Sixteenth Century*, p. 220. See also p. 341.

evidence that such a practice was not considered discreditable."[1]

For the passages, which Dr Maitland cites in proof of this from Foxe's own *Book of Martyrs*, the reader must be referred to his two first Essays, of which it is sufficient here to quote the concluding sentence: "The reader," he says, "will, I think, acquit me of any want of justice towards either the individuals or their sect; and will not wonder or blame me, if I proceed to inquire what effect the doctrine thus developed had on some of those writers who, whether formally or not, are in fact the historians of the Reformation."[2]

It cannot be questioned that the two writers, to whom the origination and perpetuation of the calumnious tradition as to Bishop Bonner's cruelty are mostly due, are Bale, who under Edward VI. had held the See of Ossory in Ireland, and Foxe, the so-called Martyrologist; and from the works of both, passages have been selected by Dr Maitland as typical examples of the "Puritan Style."

Each of these two writers spent the reign of Mary at Basle in Switzerland. There, in 1554, the ex-bishop of Ossory put forth the infamous attack on Bishop Bonner, from which Maitland took the extracts we are about to lay before the reader. There, too, for years did Foxe labour on his gigantic *Book of Martyrs*, which he brought out nine years later, with a laudatory reference to the above work of Bale's. We have thus good reason for believing that they worked in collusion with each other.

Soon after the accession of Queen Mary had released Bishop Bonner from his prison and put him once more in possession of his See, he made a much-needed visitation of his Diocese, in preparation for which he published a list of thirty-seven Articles, to which each parish was expected to give answers.

"It appears," writes Dr Maitland, "that as soon as these Articles were published, Bale, who was at Basil, out

[1] *Essays on Subjects connected with the Reformation in England*, 1849, p. 1. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

of the reach of the Bishop of London and the English Government, fell upon them with a petulant ferocity which is really ludicrous. He wrote a book entitled *A Declaration of Edmund Bonner's Articles concerning the Clergy of London Diocese, whereby that Execrable Antichrist is in his Right Colours revealed in the year of our Lord*, 1554. By John Bale.[1]

"Strype has given the Articles at full length," continues Dr Maitland, "and I think it will be hard to find in them anything to justify the 'sharp and foul' attack of Bale." . . . They are "quiet, temperate, business-like affairs—chiefly what might be called official matters, couched in official language."[2]

Foxe, however, says in regard to them: "Which Articles, partly for the tediousness of them, partly for that *Master Bale in a certain treatise hath sufficiently painted out the same in their colours*, partly, also, because I will not infect this book with them, I slip over." In quoting this remark of Foxe's, Dr Maitland observes: "Certainly, as a matter of policy, this was the best thing he (Foxe) could do; but I cite the passage as his testimonial in favour of the work in which Bale attacked them."[3]

Bale was himself, it must be remembered, an apostate friar, who had broken his religious vows; and to show the frantic wildness of the charges which he brought against the Bishop, we need only pick out a few of the abusive phrases which Dr Maitland has gathered from his book, of which the following was the opening sentence:—

"John Bale, to the faithful brethren of London Diocese; and so forth to all the Christian believers within England, Ireland, and Scotland. From Basil. Consider, dear Christians, in these most wicked articles of Edmund Bonner, *the bloody bite-sheep* of London, the exceeding and horrible fury of Satan in these latter days and end of the world. The more nigh he approacheth to his full judgment of eternal damnation, the more fierce and cruel are his enforcements, seeking as a furious roaring lion, by his two

[1] P. 50. [2] Pp. 65, 66. [3] P. 49.

horned instruments and shaven soldiers, whom he may through their shameless tyranny, for Christ's merits' sake devour. . . . This toucheth all the tyrants and cruel persecutors of God's holy word since the world's first foundation, and out taketh (*i.e.*, excepteth) not in this our time, gaggling Gardiner, butcherly Bonner, and trifling Tunstall, with other bloody bite-sheeps and frantic papists of England. . . .

"This limb of the devil and working tool of Satan, *bloody Bonner*, seeketh here to deprive you of faith, true doctrine, and God's religion. . . . So frantic are the Bishops in their visitations, as though wicked Satan were going once again from the face of the Lord to whip or to punish the Church, like as he flagelled the most patient man Job. Can anything be spoken more plainly concerning these blasphemous Articles, and this *bloody bite-sheep* their practiser. . . . Is not he a brockish boar of Babylon, a swill-ball, a blockhead, a belly-god? . . .

"Such is always the fortune which England hath had of her unnatural bastards, as his lordship is one amongst other. . . .

"Be ashamed of thy blasphemous doings, *thou most beastly belly-god and damnable dunghill.* . . .

"These terrible termagants of Antichrist, such as is this *beastly and unlearned bastard Bonner,* will suffer in the churches of England no service to be done, neither yet the necessary Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper to be ministered in English."[1]

With reference to the charge of illegitimacy thus brought against Bonner, Dr Maitland remarks that "Bale was not the only writer who used the weapon, and Bonner not the only prelate against whom it was used. . . . However, it is right to say that *it seems to have been a mere fiction;* and that its falsehood appears to be unquestionably established by the testimony of Bonner's most bitter enemies."[2]

To show, moreover, how little any portion of this

[1] Pp. 51-61. [2] P. 58.

furious tirade against the Bishop can have been grounded on realities, he calls attention to the fact that "when Bale wrote this book, little that could be called persecution had taken place. *Not one martyr had suffered.* The mere date (if not a forgery) proves that if this fierce ribaldry was not in some degree a cause, it could not certainly be an effect of most of those scenes of cruelty in the reign of Mary, with which Foxe's *Martyrology* has rendered us familiar."[1]

From this there follows the important consequence that the opprobrious epithet, by which poor Bishop Bonner came to be traditionally known, and which is applied to him no less than three times in the above brief extracts, owed its origin;—not, as commonly related, to his cruelty in burning heretics (the Smithfield fires not having been yet kindled);—but simply to the malicious hatred of the apostate friar, whose own outrageous coarseness has justly won for him the name of *foul-mouthed Bale.*

To pass now to Foxe, to whom most of all is due, at any rate, the perpetuation of the injurious tradition,[2] and who, writes Mr Gairdner, "was quite as prejudiced and unfair as Bishop Bale."[3]

To a careful examination of the charge of Bishop Bonner's cruelty, which recurs so continually in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, Dr Maitland has devoted a hundred and seventy pages of his Essays, from which we have no space here to give more than the following expression of his verdict:—

"When the reader of Foxe has become sufficiently

[1] P. 67.

[2] The following scurrilous verses about poor Bishop Bonner, which Foxe was not ashamed to insert into his *Acts and Monuments* (vol. iii., p. 728, ed. 1684), have probably played no little part in popularising and perpetuating the calumnious tradition as to his character:—

"This Cannibal in three years' space
Two hundred martyrs slew:
They were his food, he loved so blood,
He sparèd none he knew."

[3] *English Church of Sixteenth Century*, p. 342.

familiar with the '*Marvellous Rage*' and '*Great Fury*' that embellish so many of his descriptions of prelatical proceedings, . . . when he calmly inquires what these tales so full of rage and fury really mean, when they mean anything —he finds the bloody wolf transformed (I will not say into a spaniel, for that might imply fawning), but into something much more like a good-tempered mastiff, who might safely be played with, and who, though he might be teazed into barking and growling, had no disposition to bite, and would not do it without orders. In plainer terms, setting aside *declamation*, and looking at the *details of facts* left by those who may be called, if people please, Bonner's victims, and their friends, we find very consistently maintained, the character of a man, straightforward and hearty, familiar and humorous, sometimes rough, perhaps coarse, naturally hot-tempered, but obviously (by the testimony of his enemies) placable and easily entreated, capable of bearing most patiently much intemperate and insolent language, much reviling and low abuse directed against himself personally, against his order, and against those peculiar doctrines and practices of his Church, for maintaining which he had himself suffered the loss of all things, and borne long imprisonment. At the same time, not incapable of being provoked into saying harsh and passionate things, but much more frequently meaning nothing by the threatenings and slaughter which he breathed out, than to intimidate those on whose ignorance and simplicity argument seemed to be thrown away—in short, we can scarcely read with attention any one of the cases detailed by those who were no friends of Bonner, without seeing in him a judge who (even if we grant that he was dispensing bad laws badly) was obviously desirous to save the prisoner's life. . . . That he did procure a considerable number of recantations, and reconciled a great many to the Church of Rome, I have no doubt. . . . This is not the place to enter into details; but I do not hesitate to express my belief not only that Bonner procured the abjuration of a great number, but that *this was one of the causes of that bitter hatred with which the Puritans regarded*

him. . . . Certainly, while the public sufferings of their steadfast brethren formed in every point of view the best subject for invective, against the papists, for example to the Protestants, and for political agitation of the people, there was among the leaders a great fear of the Bishop's powers of persuasion; or, as Foxe oddly calls them, the *subtle snares* of that *bloody wolf*."[1]

These last remarks of Maitland's throw much light upon the causes of the special hatred borne by Foxe and his friends toward Bishop Bonner; and show us that their detestation of him was quite likely due as much to the many Protestants *whom he converted*, as to the many who left his court for the stake, still obstinate in their errors.

That their frantic hatred of him did not really spring from any love of justice, is shown by the fact that these men, who heaped opprobrium on poor Bishop Bonner and Queen Mary, merely for enforcing what were then the ancient laws, not only of England, but of entire Christendom, had no word of reprobation for the tyrannical injustice with which Catholics were barbarously put to death under Elizabeth as traitors, solely for refusing to accept the new religion forced upon them by no other authority than that of the Queen and Parliament, and to renounce the faith in which they had been reared from childhood.

Those, on the other hand, who—whether wisely or unwisely—were put to death as heretics by Mary, were so punished in the hope of hindering the spread of doctrines, which were then new-fangled, and which rested solely on the private judgment of their individual propounders.

Nor has any proof been ever brought that, in dealing with the unhappy beings brought before him, Bishop Bonner ever went beyond what was then strictly required of him by the law.

In order to understand his action in the matter rightly, it must be carefully remembered that then the prosecution of a heretic was not started by the Bishop, but always by

[1] Pp. 422-24.

the *civil* magistrate. "The magistrates," writes Lingard, "received instructions to watch over the public peace in their respective districts; to apprehend the propagators of seditious reports, the propagators of erroneous doctrine, etc., . . . and with respect to those accused of heresy, to reform them by admonition; but if they continued obstinate, *to send them before the ordinary*, that 'they might by charitable instruction be removed from their naughty opinions, or be ordered according to the laws provided in their behalf.'"[1]

Thus it was the Bishop's duty to do all he could to save and reclaim the offender sent before him by the magistrate, but if he continued obstinate, no other course lay open to the Prelate than to excommunicate him and return him to the magistrate to be dealt with according to the law. "It was the law of the land," says a recent historian of Queen Mary, "and Bonner could no more help sitting on the Bench in his own Diocese to examine into the offences committed against it, than could any other judge."[2]

As Bishop of London, "it certainly fell to his lot," again writes Lingard, "to condemn a great number of gospellers, but I can find no proof that he was a persecutor from choice, or went in search of victims. They were sent to him by the Council, or by commissioners appointed by the Council . . . and as the law stood, he could not refuse to proceed, and deliver them over to the civil power. . . . Of the Council, the most active in these prosecutions, either from choice, or from duty, was the Marquess of Winchester. See Foxe, vol. iii., pp. 203, 208, 317."[3]

"I believe," says Dr Maitland, "that he never dealt with any alleged heretic who was not brought before him in his official character as Bishop of London, in due course of law, by the warrant of some magistrate, or other person acting directly under a Commission from the Government."[4]

[1] *History of England*, vol. v., p. 469.

[2] *History of Mary I.*, by J. M. Stone, p. 389.

[3] Lingard, *ibid.*, note on p. 471. For each of the above assertions Lingard gives references to Foxe.

[4] *Essays*, p. 414.

The truth is, as Foxe himself makes clear, that so far from being over eager, the good Bishop's reluctance to act had led to a complaint being laid against him by Lord Winchester, which gave occasion to his receiving from the King and Queen in Council a letter, dated May 24, 1555 (printed by Foxe in full), in which their Majesties expressed their "no little marvel that divers of the said disordered persons" (accused of heretical opinions), "being by the justices of peace for their contempt and obstinacy brought to the ordinaries . . . are either refused to be received at their hands, or, if received, are neither so travailed with as Christian charity requireth, nor yet proceeded withal according to the order of justice, but are suffered to continue in their errors to the dishonour of Almighty God, and dangerous example of others. . . . As we find this matter very strange, so we have thought convenient both to signify this our knowledge, and therewith also to admonish you to have in this behalf such regard henceforth to the office of a good pastor and bishop, as when any such offenders shall be by the said officers or justices of peace brought unto you, you to use your good wisdom and discretion in procuring to remove them from their errors, if it may be; or else in proceeding against them, if they shall continue obstinate, according to the order of the laws."[1]

This injunction left no choice to the kindly Bishop but to examine those accused of heresy, who after this were sent before him by the magistrates; and, if unsuccessful in his efforts to convert them, to hand them over again, as obstinate, to the civil power. "Mary," says Mr Gairdner, "had all possible desire to show indulgence to the misguided, if they could be brought to a better state of mind; and the Bishops might be trusted, *especially Bishop Bonner*, to do their very utmost to dissuade the obstinate from rushing on their fate. But there was to be no more toleration for incurable perversity."[2]

A detailed "Examen of the Calendar of Protestant

[1] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, etc., ed. 1684, vol. iii., p. 208.
[2] *English Church of Sixteenth Century*, p. 353.

Saints, Martyrs, and Confessors, devised by John Foxe"—amongst whom, of course, were included all of Bishop Bonner's "victims"—was published in 1604 by Father Persons, in the Third Part of his *Three Conversions of England.*

In this work—using no other testimony than that drawn from the work of Foxe himself—Father Persons exposed the true character of many of the so-called "Foxian Martyrs"; and, in so doing, brought out the extraordinary patience with which Bishop Bonner sought to win over the ignorant but often insolent and defiant men who were brought before him; bearing quietly their insulting speeches, and leaving in fact no means untried *to save* the very men whom Foxe represents him as thirsting to destroy. The following extract from this examination of Foxe's heroes by Father Persons will let the reader see something of this for himself:—

"The . . . three that ensue, Tudson, Went, and Browne, were all simple and ignorant men, as hath been said, but no less obstinate than the former—the first being an apprentice, the second a sherman, the third a labourer. Nor is there anything worth the noting about them, but that Bishop Bonner, with other learned men, took unspeakable pains and patience to persuade with them and to instruct them both by entreaty, arguments, promises, and persuasions, as Foxe himself doth show in the story of every one of them; which is a clear testimony of their wilful obstinacy, and a strong argument against Foxe himself, who everywhere doth cry out of Bishop Bonner for his cruelty. And yet, if we consider Foxe's own particular relations of all those that suffered under the said Bishop, we shall find them still to testify against himself in this particular, as namely in the case of all these here mentioned. And especially of the two self-willed women that next ensue, Isabel Foster, the Cutler's wife, and Joan Warne alias Lashford, the Cutler's daughter, an upholster's wife; whom with all care and charity he sought to save (as Foxe himself recounteth), but could

effectuate nothing, nor received he any answer again at their hands but blasphemous and contemptuous words. 'Joan Lashford' (saith he) 'told the Bishop that the Mass was not according to the Scriptures, but as well that as the sacrament of Confession, with all other their superfluous sacraments, ceremonies, and divine service then used in England, were most vile and contrary to God's words and institution,' etc. Thus relateth Foxe. And presently he addeth in her singular commendation for her obstinacy these words: 'Thus this godly damsel, feeble and tender of age, but yet strong by God's grace in this her confession and faith, stood so firm that neither their flattering promises nor their violent threats could turn her; but being exhorted by the Bishop to return to the Catholic unity of that Church, she said boldly: If ye will leave your abominations, I will return, otherwise not. Whereupon yet again the Bishop promised her pardon of all her errors (as he calleth them), if she would be conformed. But she, constantly persevering in the Lord's holy truth, was by sentence definitive condemned,' etc.

"Here you may see a pattern of wilful ignorant people, who are taught by wild, seditious heads to contemn their pastors and teachers, holding them for Scribes and Pharisees, and esteeming themselves for saints and chosen servants of God. And out of this fancy did they talk and answer without any humility, modesty, or ground of truth at all, except only their own imagination and passion. And so much of her!

"But now Foxe goeth on to tell of the same Bishop's courteous and merciful proceeding with others also, persuading them to return and accept of pardon. 'With Thomas Went' (saith he) 'the Bishop of London after divers examinations attempted like persuasions as he had done with the other to recant and return: but he would stand firm and constant in that he had said, etc. With Thomas Browne also, the artificer, the said Bishop of London dealt very effectually, requiring him with many fair words and glosing promises to revoke his doctrine: but when he would not, he added: I have travailed with

thee to win thee from thy errors, yet thou and such like have, and do, report that I do go about to seek thy blood To whom Thomas Browne answered: Yea, my Lord, indeed you are a blood-sucker, etc. Thus writeth Foxe. And these were the common answers of most of these Martyrs. And from what spirit this proceeded against their lawful superiors and pastors, every man may judge."[1]

In the case of persons thus infatuated, it is evident that nothing could be done by reasoning or persuasion; and when all these means had failed, the only course left in the Bishop's power was to return them to the Magistrates who had sent them to him. It is sad, indeed, to think of so many of these poor misguided people having ended in this dreadful manner; but if the good Bishop's efforts to reclaim and save them were often unsuccessful, we must not forget how many must have been brought back again to the true faith, partly by his persuasive kindness, partly by the salutary fear inspired by these very executions, which were in themselves so lamentable. That this was throughout the sole end of the good Bishop's action, we are assured by Sander; who says that, "when under the pretext of compassion, even some Catholics found fault with him for having been so energetic in punishing the heretics, that he had himself alone cast out of the Church and delivered to the Secular arm more than all the other Bishops; he used to make them the wise answer that, when one man's death preserved the lives of many, it was in reality the truest mercy."[2]

But though Sander tells us, in the same report, that "he was so hated by the Lutherans," that after Elizabeth's accession "he could not even appear in public without danger to his life," the Acts of the Privy Council for that very period supply the clearest proof that even his worst enemies could find nothing on which to ground an accusa-

[1] The Third Part of a treatise entitled *Of Three Conversions of England.* An examen of the Calendar . . . devised by John Foxe: The First Six Months, 1604, pp. 222-225.

[2] Report to Cardinal Morone, f. 265.

tion of having acted otherwise than in accordance with the law.

At the end of Elizabeth's first month, we find in the Council's Acts for the 18th of December 1558, an order for a letter to be written "to the Bishop of London, with certain examinations taken of some that practised conjuring in the City of London sent unto him by Mr Attorney, wherein he is willed to proceed by such severe punishment against them that shall be proved culpable herein, according to the order of the ecclesiastical laws, as he shall think meet, and to signify hither what he shall have done herein."[1]

Although this shows, as is remarked by Father Bridgett, that even the new Council of Elizabeth did not scruple to impose "unpleasant judicial tasks" upon Bishop Bonner when it fell in with its purpose; it is clear, from what immediately follows in the Acts, that its purpose was in this case to put the good Bishop off his guard, and prevent him from suspecting the secret inquiry into his past proceedings, which it was instituting at that very moment.

For the Acts for the same day continue: "*Eodem die.* Three several letters to William Saye, Robert Warmington, and one Babham of the Arches, to make a particular and perfect note of all such matters as have been called before the Bishop of London, Sir Roger Cholmeley, and other Commissioners appointed to call before them certain persons of this realm, and to signify withal what judgments passed against them, and what fines were cessed and levied of them, and to whom the same was paid; and in the meantime they are commanded, as they will answer for the contrary, *to keep this matter close to themselves.* They were written unto herein for that they were Registers, attendant upon the same Commissioners."

We are not told what the three Registrars reported; but about a fortnight later, on January 3, 1559, the Acts record the sending of an order "to the Bishop of London

[1] Acts of Privy Council, vol. vii., p. 22.

to repair hither (Westminster) to-morrow, at two of the clock in the afternoon, and at his coming, to resort to Mr Vice-chamberlain's chamber, and to bring with him all such Commissions as were made to him and others for the examination and ordering of heresies and other misorders in the church in the time of the late Queen."[1]

The only further allusion to the business to be found is an order, issued by the Council on the following January 11, to the same three Proctors of the Arches, Saye, Warmington, and Babham, to pay "to Mr Mason, Treasurer of the Chamber, all such sums of money as remain in their hands, of such fines as were levied of divers persons in the time of the late Queen, by order of the Bishop of London and other Commissioners for examination of heresies and other misdemeanors in the Church."[2]

In this, it must be observed, not a word is said to imply that the fines had been found to have been unlawfully imposed.

"These measures show," writes Father Bridgett, "that it was the hope of Sir William Cecil and Elizabeth's other Protestant advisers that proof might be found that Bishop Bonner had gone beyond his commission, or exceeded the limits of the law. As no such charge was brought against him, it may be presumed that no such proofs were found."[3]

We are then justified in taking, as a clear proof of the blamelessness of Bishop Bonner's conduct, this failure, on the part of those most eager to effect his ruin, to establish any charge against him. If his mode of dealing with his victims had borne even the most faint resemblance to that which Foxe afterwards depicted, there would certainly have been no lack of matter on which to ground an indictment.

Trusting that enough has now been said to show how different was the true character of good Bishop Bonner from that which the hatred of his enemies has made traditional, we may now resume the history of his imprisonment.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 36. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 43.
[3] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 82.

The thoroughness of his repentance for his earlier participation in the schism, and for his undutiful behaviour when acting as Henry VIII.'s envoy to the Pope, is attested by his whole later conduct, as well as by the very hatred with which the Protestants regarded him. It was, moreover, expiated by his long-continued sufferings and death in prison, which have now to be related.

Nothing, moreover, could have been more explicit, on the subject of the Pope's supremacy, than Bishop Bonner's instructions to his people under Mary, as set forth in the volume of *Homilies* which he then published; of which more than one was devoted to proving—that "the Bishops of Rome have always in the Catholic Church been esteemed, judged, and taken for St Peter's successors, even in that his special and highest office; and that to him and them, by the will of God, doth appertain the government of Christ's whole flock on earth."[1]

We have seen that he was the first of all the Bishops to be deprived, his See having been taken from him as early as May 29, 1559. He thus had the glory of being the first to set the example to his brethren by his brave renunciation of dignity and riches for the sake of conscience.

For a short time after his deprivation, Bishop Bonner found a refuge, Il Schifanoya tells us, at Westminster Abbey with Abbot Feckenham and his good monks;[2] but this can only have been at most for a few weeks; since the same informant tells us a little later of the deprivation of the Abbot himself and his religious, which took place before the end of June.

[1] "A Profitable and necessarye Doctryne, with certayne Homelies adjoyned thereunto set forth by the reverende Father in God, Edmonde, Bishop of London, for the instruction and enformation of the people beynge within his Diocese of London, and of his cure and charge. Imprinted at London in Poules churcheyarde, at the sygne of the Holy Ghost, by Jhon Cawodde, Prynter to the Kynge and Queenes Majesties." f. 50. Two editions of this work appeared in 1554 and 1555.

[2] See p. 105.

Of his first confinement in the latter part of 1559, no particulars have reached us; but, when the other deprived Prelates were then placed in custody, as we have seen, we may be sure that Bishop Bonner was not left at liberty, and it seems probable that he was at first committed into Grindal's keeping. At any rate, just as he had been the first to be deposed, so was he also the first next year to be removed from private custody into one of the public prisons.

"A return of prisoners in the Marshalsea," writes Father Bridgett, "made on 2nd July 1561, gives: 'Dr Bonner, sent in the 20th April 1560, upon the commandment of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury and others, the Queen's Majesty's Commissioners—viz., *for matter of religion.*'" [1]

In the above words, here printed in italics, we have fresh proof that the good Bishop's enemies had been unable to find any other cause for imprisoning him than his fidelity to the Catholic religion; and the same thing is revealed by Jewel's letter, written only a month later. "Bonner, the monk Feckenham," etc., he wrote to Martyr, "are sent to prison, for having obstinately refused attendance on public worship, and everywhere declaiming and railing against that religion which we must now profess. For the Queen, a most discreet and excellent woman, most manfully and courageously declared that she would not allow any of her subjects to dissent from this religion with impunity." [2]

It was on occasion of his committal to this prison, in which he was to spend all his remaining years, that the Bishop's kindly greeting to his fellow prisoners was met by one of them with the insulting speech already quoted from another of Jewel's letters.

We may be certain that Bishop Bonner was not more kindly treated in the Marshalsea than Archbishop Heath and his companions were at the same time in the Tower;

[1] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 84. The return of prisoners is from *Dom. Eliz.*, vol. xviii., p. 2.

[2] *Zurich Letters*, 1st series, Ep. 33.

and we have seen how strictly these latter were there kept confined. It must be remembered, also, that the Bishop of London was one of the four who were represented to the Pope in 1561 as standing in especial need of help in consequence of the imprisonment of the friends who had till then supported them. In fact, his whole history, from now until his death in 1569, is made up of various attempts made by his enemies to increase his sufferings, and even to bring him to the scaffold.

The Act of Parliament known as the "Assurance of Supremacy Act," which received the royal assent on April 10, 1563, enacted—not only that "every Archbishop and Bishop shall have power to tender the oath [of supremacy] to every or any spiritual or ecclesiastical person within their Diocese"; but also that any one "refusing to take the said oath shall suffer the penalties ordained by the Statute of Præmunire"; and further that any one who, "after the space of three months after the first tender thereof, do the *second* time refuse to take it, shall *suffer execution, as is used in cases of high treason.*"[1]

The passing of this cruel Act, by which the lives of the imprisoned Bishops were placed at the disposal of the men who had usurped their places—and who now had it in their power at any time to bring them to the scaffold by administering to them the oath—naturally occasioned the gravest anxiety to their friends; and we have seen how sorrowfully before the end of the same month the good Bishop Quadra announced to his royal master that they already had "begun to demand the oath from the Catholic Bishops," and that the Bishops of London and Lincoln had been summoned for Monday next—viz., for April 26—and a few days later he again wrote of the "Commission," which had been issued, he said, for the trial of these two Bishops with Drs Cole and Storey, although the Queen had put off the signing of it.[2]

The intervention of the Emperor had then put a stop to further proceedings for a time; and in the summer of

[1] The Act is given in full by Dr Gee, pp. 202-210.

[2] See p. 224.

that same year, 1563, a further respite was secured to the Bishops by the outbreak of the plague.

The enemies of Bishop Bonner were not easily, however, to be defeated of their purpose, and in the spring of the next year their attacks upon him recommenced.

When the other Bishops were distributed amongst the houses of the Protestant Bishops, he seems to have been left all through the plague time in the Marshalsea. There, indeed, did he remain until his death in 1569, with no other variation to his long confinement than an occasional summons to appear before the Justices at Westminster, in a way which must have greatly added to his sufferings, as has now to be related.

The Marshalsea prison, being in Southwark, lay within the Diocese of Winchester, then occupied by Horne—one of the most violent of all the new-made Bishops in his hatred of the Catholic religion. To Horne, therefore, in accordance with the recent Act, now belonged the power of administering the oath to Bishop Bonner, a second refusal of which involved the punishment of death; and of this power Horne, in 1564, resolved to take advantage in order thus to bring the holy Bishop to the scaffold.

There seems, indeed, no doubt that if it had not been for Elizabeth's own reluctance to allow it, like action would have been taken at this time with reference to the other Confessors as well. But, at the secret desire of the Queen, Parker "drew up," says Father Bridgett, "a form of circular to the Bishops, which Cecil corrected and completed. In this they were instructed not to tender the oath to any one a second time, without referring the matter to himself. They were to keep this instruction secret to themselves, but Parker kept secret from them that he did this by the Queen's wish, since, as he says, he had found them to be very leaky—*pleni rimarum*—and it would have 'discouraged the honest Protestants and rejoiced the (Popish) adversaries' too much had the Queen's leniency become known."[1]

[1] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 85. Parker's circular is given in the *Parker Correspondence*, p. 174; and his letter to Cecil on the subject, p. 173.

The following letter from Grindal to Cecil on May 2, 1564, makes it clear, however, that Parker—apparently on Grindal's urging—had consented to the oath being offered by Horne to Bishop Bonner:—

"For Dr Bonner's oath, I did of purpose not trouble you with it aforehand, that if any misliked the matter, ye might *liquido jurare* ye were not privy of it. Notwithstanding I had my Lord of Canterbury's approbation by letters, and I used good advice of the learned in the Laws. I could wish that the judges were moved that expedition may be used before them. A thing obtained with such difficulty would not be letten lie without all execution; and no more meet man to begin withal than that person. God keep you. Yours in Christ, Edm. Londoñ, 2° Maii 1564."[1]

Some account of Horne's unsuccessful attempt to administer the oath to Bishop Bonner, which Grindal here refers to, is found in a letter written only a few days before the above to Cardinal de Granvelle by Luis Roman, who, after the death of Bishop Quadra, acted for a time as Spanish *chargé d'affaires* in London. "Three days ago," wrote Quadra's former secretary on April 29, "they brought the good Bishop of London out of prison to take the oath before the Bishop of Winchester. He was very firm in his refusal to swear against his conscience, and said he would give ample good reasons why they could not press him to do so. The Queen in her absolute power could do as she liked, but nothing would move him from his purpose. They took him to prison again, accompanied by a large crowd of heretics and boys who kept shouting out insults to him, of which he took no notice. It is impossible to say how it will all end."[2]

The official report of the proceedings, preserved in the *Coram Rege Rolls*, entirely confirms the above account of Luis Roman's as to the courageous firmness of the Bishop.

[1] *R.O. Dom. Eliz.*, vol. xxxiv., No. 1.
[2] *Spanish Calendar*, April 29, 1564.

For this states that when, "on the 26th day of April, in the 6th year of the reign of the said Lady the Queen, the Reverend Father in Christ, Robert, by divine permission Bishop of Winchester, . . . had offered the aforesaid oath to one Edward Bonner—otherwise called Edmund Bonner of the Borough of Southwark — Doctor of Laws, an ecclesiastical person then existing in sacred orders in the parish of St Saviour, . . . and within the Diocese of the same Bishop, according to the form of the aforesaid statute, . . . the said Edward Bonner, attaching no weight to the aforesaid statute, and not fearing at all the penalties thereby enjoined, did then and there altogether refuse to take the aforesaid oath, to the contempt of the said Lady the Queen, and of the aforesaid statute. . . . Wherefore the Sheriff (*Vicecomes*) was ordered not to fail to summon him to answer," etc.[1]

According to the cruel statute passed in 1563, the Bishop's next refusal would have been high treason; and to involve him in this was the deliberate purpose of his enemies. But, as Father Bridgett writes, "Grindal had miscalculated. He and his brother intruders were eager to execute the new law, 'obtained with such difficulty,' against those whose places they filled; but Bonner was not the man to begin with. He was skilled in civil no less than in canon law, and he thoroughly baffled them."[2]

It thus happened that Horne and Grindal did not succeed in their iniquitous attempt to bring the faithful Bishop to the scaffold, although it led, as we shall see, to his being subjected during his remaining years to a systematic course of outrages and insults, which must have been indeed a veritable martyrdom.

Not long after Horne's first attempt to administer the oath under the new Act to Bishop Bonner, the new Spanish ambassador, Don Guzman de Silva, arrived in

[1] Translated from the Latin *Coram Rege Roll*, No. 1212; *Regina Rot.*, vol. xiii., Michaelmas 6-7 Elizabeth. Father J. H. Pollen, S.J., has apparently been the first writer in modern times to call attention to the repeated citations of the Bishop, which the *Coram Rege Roll* records (see *Month* for October 1902, p. 430).

[2] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 86.

London, with special instructions from his royal master, as has been said already, to inquire into the condition of the imprisoned Bishops. In a letter written on the following 9th of October (which that year evidently was the first day of the Michaelmas term), De Silva mentions that "the courts of justice open for business again to-day;"[1] and in another letter, written only five days later, he informs the King of a disgraceful attempt, which had then just been made, to obtain the condemnation of the Bishop, as guilty of contempt in not answering a summons of which he had purposely been kept in ignorance.

"Since I wrote to your Majesty on the 9th instant," says the ambassador on October the 14th, "the following has happened. Bonner, the good Bishop of London, being imprisoned in the public jail here,[2] one of the officers of the Crown Office, as it is called, secretly obtained a summons against the said Bishop, requiring him to appear in the matter of the oath which had already been demanded of him, acknowledging the Queen as Supreme Head of the Church. The summons was issued at a place twenty-nine miles off before witnesses *in absentia* and with great secrecy, so that the Bishop should not hear of it and (might) be accused of contempt when the case came on. By God's good pleasure the summons and the proceedings already taken happened to fall into the hands of a Catholic on the very day the term for appearance expired, and he gave prompt notice to the Bishop, who at once appeared for judgment. When his adversaries knew of this they did not present the allegations made at the issuing of the summons, but as the judges learnt that the Bishop was there, they wished to know the cause of his coming, and were told the truth of the matter. A new summons was then issued, and the case will now be commenced, so that we shall be able to judge of the wishes and intentions of those who love not the goodness of the Bishop and the other prisoners, and to see what is likely to be done in

[1] *Spanish Calendar*, October 9, 1564.

[2] It will be remembered that in 1564 the other Bishops were imprisoned in the Protestant Bishops' houses.

these affairs generally. The intentions of the Protestants are evident from these underhand proceedings. . . . Lord Robert, who is now called the Earl of Leicester, came to my lodging on the 13th instant. . . . Seeing the necessity of bringing to his mind the subject of the Catholics, by reason of the Bishop of London's affair, statement of which is enclosed, I reminded him that the Catholics trusted in the Queen and him, as I believed the Bishops and others owed their lives to him, and that he was greatly esteemed by Catholic Princes in consequence. . . . I was surprised at the action against the Bishop, and again reminded him to consider the matter well. He replied that the Queen had not known what was being done against the Bishop at first, although he had allowed himself to say very opprobrious words of the Queen and others, and had been extremely unpopular in the country. I said very likely this was raised by his enemies, and this matter should be handled very carefully, as the eyes of all Christendom were upon it. . . . He seemed favourably impressed, but I do not know what he will do. . . . I have let the Bishop know that I will help him if he informs me what I can do. *I am informed that he certainly is a man of much virtue and firmness.* . . . The Catholics have greatly rejoiced at your Majesty's action, and they are inexpressibly consoled."[1]

A month later, the ambassador thus acknowleged, on November the 13th, the receipt of the King's letter to Elizabeth on behalf of the imprisoned Bishops: "Your Majesty's letter in favour of the imprisoned Bishops and others has duly arrived, and, as I have already written, will be used in the way that may appear most desirable." He adds, however, in a postcript: "At this moment I am informed that the case against the Bishop of London *has been ordered to be suspended.* The letter will, therefore, not be presented now as I had intended."[2]

To the same effect we find him again writing on November 27: "The letter which your Majesty ordered to be written to this Queen in favour of the imprisoned

[1] *Spanish Calendar*, October 14, 1564.
[2] *Ibid.*, November 13.

Catholics arrived in such good season that the date had been put on it for delivery, but the very day it was to be handed to the Queen, the case against the Bishop of London was suspended, and the letter was kept back. It shall be preserved in case any other occasion should arise for its use, which God forbid!"[1]

If we turn now to the *Coram Rege Roll*—mank though its report of the proceedings is—we find it, as far as it goes, confirming the ambassador's account; and it supplies us, moreover, with the dates of the poor Bishop's various enforced appearances at Westminster.

We have seen from the first letter of De Silva, above quoted, that the Courts of Law had reopened that year on Monday, October the 9th. On the following day, namely, on "the next Tuesday after St Michael's month," says the *Coram Rege Roll*, "in that same term the aforesaid Edward Bonner came before our Lady the Queen,[2] at Westminster, under the custody of Ralph Hopton, Knight, and Robert Hopton, Esquire, Marshal of the said lady, the Queen's Hospice of the Marshalsea, into whose custody he had been before committed by order of Matthew, by divine permission, Archbishop of Canterbury and Metropolitan of the whole kingdom of England, and of the other Commissioners of the said Lady the Queen appointed to examine ecclesiastical causes. . . . And having heard the aforesaid indictment, he says that he is not guilty, and that on this he throws himself upon his country. . . . Therefore the Sheriff of the said County of Surrey was ordered not to fail to make him appear before our Lady the Queen, in the Octave of St Martin. . . . The same date was fixed both for Gilbert Gerrard (the Attorney-General), and for the aforesaid Edward Bonner, committed meantime to the custody of the aforesaid Marshal. . . . In the Octave of St Martin, there appeared before the Queen both the aforesaid Gilbert Gerrard and the aforesaid Edward Bonner in his own person in the custody of the Marshal. And the Sheriff of the said County of Surrey

[1] *Ibid.*, November 27.

[2] *I.e.*, before her Majesty's Justices.

returned the names of twelve jurymen. . . . Therefore the same Sheriff was ordered to have their bodies before our Lady the Queen within fifteen days from St Hilary's day" (January 13).

This suspension of the case from the Martinmas of 1564 to the Hilary term of 1565, must have been the one referred to by De Silva, as just announced to him, in the postscript to his letter of November the 13th.

On the Bishop's appearance in the Hilary term of 1565, as above ordered in the custody of the Marshal, he was again remanded to the following Easter; and from then to "the morrow of the Holy Trinity"; and from Trinity to the Octave of St Michael, and from then again to the Hilary term of 1566.

In the same way, his forced appearance at Westminster, in custody of the Marshal for a fresh reprieve, continues to be recorded in the *Coram Regè Roll* for each of the four terms of the three years that follow; his last appearance there recorded being that for the Michaelmas term of 1568.

The amount of suffering and indignity involved in all this to the now aged Confessor, it seems impossible for us to estimate. He himself complained before the judges that, by Dr Horne's unwarranted proceeding in calling him "out of the Queen's Majesty's Prison of the Marshalsea," he had been put "in manifest and notorious danger of his life many ways, and especially by reason of the naughty and unruly multitude, which the said Dr Horne and his complices purposely of malice had caused then and there in the streets riotously to be assembled, and by them and their Beadle to be thereof advertised."[1]

Dragged in this way, as the poor Bishop was, four times a year, through crowds of rude and hostile spectators, all on the look-out for the opportunity to insult him with impunity, it need hardly be considered a reproach that some stories should be told of his repartee, which, as Father Bridgett says, "show good humour rather than

[1] Strype, *Annals*, vol. i., p. 342 (from Foxe's MSS.).

sense of dignity;"[1] as for instance, when one called out from the crowd: "The Lord confound, or else turn thy heart"; and he is said to have replied: "The Lord send thee to keep thy breath to cool thy porridge." The wonder rather ought to be that, amidst so many insults, the holy man, as even his enemies confess, should have still remained good-humoured; and at the same time it must be remembered that most of these stories have come to us from opponents of the Bishop, such as Foxe, or the lascivious Sir John Harington.[2]

Strype relates, however, one incident from a manuscript of Foxe's, which makes it clear that occasionally, amongst the Bishop's Protestant insulters, there were mingled faithful sympathetic Catholics, who were not afraid to seize the opportunity of giving expression to their veneration for him. For he tells us that, on one of these occasions, "a woman, wife to one Games, sometimes schoolmaster of the Choristers in Magdalen College, kneeled down and said: 'The Lord save thy life, Bishop! I trust to see thee Bishop of London again.' To whom he said: 'God a mercy, good wife'! and so passed to his lodging."[3]

The continual postponement from one term to another of the Bishop's trial, and the ultimate abandonment of his further prosecution, were no doubt largely due to the Spanish ambassador's skilful intervention, aided by Elizabeth's own dread of the odium which would have been excited in other countries by his execution.

At the same time, there can be no question as to the real state of consternation, into which the fearless Prelate threw his adversaries, by the plea which he had so cleverly brought forward as the main ground of his defence.

The objections made by Bishop Bonner to the process instituted against him by "Dr Robert Horne, naming himself Bishop of Winchester . . . by virtue of the Statutes of

[1] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 87.

[2] *Briefe View of the State of the Church of England*, by Sir John Harington, 1653, p. 15.

[3] *Annals*, vol. i., p. 340.

Anno 1° Regni Elizabeth, or Anno 5° of the same," are printed in full by Strype from a manuscript of Foxe's. The first of them is as follows :—

"The said Edmund saith—protesting alway that he intendeth nothing to say, attempt, or do, against the Queen's most excellent Majesty . . . otherwise than may stand by good law, reason, and conscience—that he, the said Edmund, hath not run into any penalty comprised in any of the said two statutes. . . . For that especially both the said two statutes of *Anno Primo* and *Anno Quinto* of the said Queen be not of strength, force, or power, to condemn the said Edmund; both for that the same statutes ought to have had the consent of the Lords *Spiritual*[1] and Temporal, and also the consent of the Commons in that Parliament assembled: and also for that the said Edmund *was not convented, or called, herein before a lawful Bishop*, or competent judge, such as might require any such oath enjoined in either of the said statutes; neither the said Edmund in law or conscience bound in any wise to give the said oath, which hath not his due companions, *Judicium, Justitiam, et Veritatem;* nor could be given by the said Edmund, but by the death and loss of his own soul, and the danger and loss of divers other men's souls of whom he hath care and charge of.

"*Item*, That the said Mr Robert Horne, *not being lawful Bishop of Winchester*, but an usurper, intruder, and unlawful possessioner thereof; as well for that according to the laws of the Catholic Church and the statutes and ordinances of this realm, the said Mr Robert Horne was not elected, consecrated, or provided, as also according to the Canons of the Catholic Church, he, the same Mr Robert Horne, came not to the same dignity, or was eligible to the same; but as a person infamed, unworthy, and utterly unmeet for the same, did take

[1] We have seen already that the validity of the Act of Supremacy was persistently denied by Catholics from the first, it having been passed against the will of all the Spiritual Peers.

upon him the said office, most worthy to be repelled from the same.

"*Item*, That the said Mr Robert Horne, conspiring with other schismatical Bishops of this realm, did by sundry and unlawful means, go about at sundry times to put the said Edmund, both in extreme and certain danger of his life, and also losing all his living and goods.

"*Item*, That the said Mr Robert Horne, forgetting his own soul's health, and following the sensuality of his own mind, of late did make an unlawful, untrue, and false certificate into the Queen's Majesty's Bench, surmising the said Edmund peremptorily and obstinately to have refused to give the said oath required in the said statute of *Anno Primo* and *Anno Quinto;* whereas he the said Edmund so did not, but alleged that he was not bound to give the said oath, for reasonable causes then and above also expressed. . . .

"*Item*, That Dr Horne is no lawful Bishop, neither concerning the tendering of the said oath, nor other things foresaid, nor exercise of other ecclesiastical office, for many causes; and especially for that he, the said Dr Horne, was not lawfully consecrated according to the laws and statutes of this realm; especially the statute of 25 of Henry VIII. cap. 20, where in effect is required that he that is to be consecrated must among other things have one Archbishop and two Bishops, or else four Bishops at the consecration; which the said Dr Horne had not."[1]

It is easy to imagine the dismay of the intruded Bishops and their partisans, on hearing this bold impeachment of their status in the open court. "It was much debated among all the Justices at Lord Catlyne's chambers," says Sir James Dyer in his notice of the case, "whether Bonner may give in evidence upon this issue; viz., that he is not guilty thereof, that the said Bishop of Winchester was not a Bishop at the time of the offering of the oath; and resolved by all, that if the truth of the matter be

[1] Strype, *Annals*, vol. i., pp. 340, 342.

such in fact, he shall be well received to it upon this issue, and the jury shall try it."[1]

As we have seen already, the case was never allowed actually to come on for trial, in spite of the permission for it granted by the judges. That the brave stand made by Bishop Bonner had caused a widespread sensation, may be gathered from what Randolph wrote to Cecil from Edinburgh some months later, telling him of the rumour which had gone abroad in Scotland, "that Bonner in his defence at his arraignment said that there was never a lawful Bishop in England, which so astonished a great number of the best learned that yet *they knew not what answer to give him;* and when it was determined he should have suffered, he is remitted to the place from whence he came, and no more said to him."[2]

How keenly the Protestant Prelates felt their rebuff, is shown also by a letter addressed, on the following June 23, to the Queen by Dr Young, on whom Elizabeth had bestowed the See of York, in which he assured her that "the cause of the inconstancy and murmuring of the people in the north, touching the alteration of religion, arises . . . chiefly through the remiss dealing of the judges and lawyers of the King's Bench (who wrest laws at their pleasure) with Mr Bonner, late Bishop of London, and Doctor Palmes.[3] They have long been dallied with, but people persuade themselves that you would not have such offenders punished."[4]

"It is well known, too," writes Father Bridgett, "that an Act of Parliament was passed in 1566 to heal all legal informalities in the consecration of the first Anglican Bishops."[5]

[1] Reports of Cases taken and collected by Sir James Dyer, Knt., sometime Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. Translated by John Vaillant, 1794, part ii., p. 234. Sir James Dyer died in 1581. His Reports are of cases in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth.

[2] *Calendar, Scotland,* March 30, 1565.

[3] A Prebendary of York, imprisoned for his refusal of the oath.

[4] *Calendar, Domestic, Addenda,* June 23, 1565.

[5] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 87.

Meantime, soon after his first appearance at Westminster in the autumn of 1564, Bishop Bonner had addressed from his prison on October 26 an admirable Latin letter to the Queen, in which, after protesting his entire loyalty to her Majesty, he excused himself for his refusal of the oath on the ground that his conscience did not allow it, and that he could not believe the Queen "desired to entangle her subjects either in mortal sin or perjury." He closed his letter with pregnant quotations from St Jerome and St Augustine, showing the obligation to disregard the commands of rulers, when these are at variance with the law of God.[1]

We have seen that in the report of the returned Italian traveller, which was presented to Cardinal Commendone in 1567, Bishop Bonner was spoken of, as "having been several times brought before the tribunals to be condemned to death"—an evident reference to the humiliating appearance which the venerable Confessor was forced quarterly to make before the judge, uncertain each time whether to be sentenced to execution as a traitor, or to receive another brief reprieve.

As is only natural, allusions to these attempts to obtain his condemnation are not wanting in the works of Catholic writers of the time. Thus in the same year, 1567, we find the following in a work of Harding's: "If there be any such" (viz., any who maintain a redeeming sacrifice other than that of the cross), "let him be punished in God's name, to the example of all blasphemers. Yea, if ye will, let him be handled as ill, *as ye would long ere this have handled Bishop Bonner*, that constant Confessor of God, if ye could have had so much law thereto as ye had malice."[2]

Allusion was also made to it by Allen in his answer to Lord Burghley: "When the Libeller pretendeth," wrote the Cardinal, "us to be guilty of other treasons and

[1] Strype's *Life of Grindal*, App., p. 17, where Bonner's Letter to the Queen is given *in extenso* from the Petyt MSS.

[2] A Rejoindre to M. Jewel's Replie against the Sacrifice of the Masse. Lovanii, 1567, f. 252.

trespasses than they [the Bishops] were, and therefore punished by death rather than they; as also pressed by these new questions of the Bull and other capital matters, as *they* never were; we avouch both assertions to be untrue; neither our treasons being other than matter of our conscience and religion more than theirs were; nor yet they (being indeed so quiet and obedient subjects as you confess them to have been) were always free from such or other bloody and quarrelling demands as now are put to us, for entangling of our blood; whereof . . . *the honourable Confessor and Bishop of London may be an example*, before any excommunication of the Queen was heard of."[1]

Few particulars have reached us with reference to the treatment experienced by Bishop Bonner during his ten years' imprisonment in the Marshalsea. "But," writes Father Bridgett, "if Heath and Watson, Pate and Turberville, were condemned to 'close and several' confinement in the Tower, there is no likelihood that greater indulgence was granted to Bonner in the Marshalsea."[2]

That he was not always entirely cut off from communication with his friends is evident from some of the documents already quoted; although these very communications, when discovered, were at times the occasion of an increase of rigour in his treatment. Thus, on March 18, 1566, the Spanish ambassador De Silva wrote: "A steward of the Earl of Arundel's went to visit Bonner, Bishop of London, in his prison on the 12th, whereat these people are suspicious, as they think the Bishop may have discussed religious matters with him. On the same day *they removed the Bishop to a close prison, where he can see no one*, and the governor of his former prison has been arrested because he allowed the Bishop to see so many visitors. The principal reason, however, is probably because they suspect he is a Catholic."[3]

A year later, in the March of 1567, we hear of the

[1] *True, Sincere, and Modest Defence*, p. 43.
[2] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 85.
[3] *Spanish Calendar*, March 18, 1566.

MARSHALSEA PRISON AND PALACE LAW COURT, abolished in 1849.

(Grace's "Views of London.")

[*To face p.* 326.

good Bishop being cheered in his confinement by letters, if not by an actual visit, from the Jesuit Father, Edmund Hay, as he passed through London in journeying from Edinburgh to Paris;[1] and in the spring of 1569, some months only before his death, the holy Confessor had the still greater consolation of being visited in his prison by an envoy from the Holy See, in the person of Dr Morton despatched to England on a special mission by Pope St Pius V., and doubtless the bearer to the dying Prelate of the Holy Father's blessing. For, in the Process held next year at Rome, Dr Morton deposed to "having in particular conversed in his prison with the Bishop of London."[2] His death in prison was deposed to, in the same Process, by the Bishop of St Asaph.

During the last year of his confinement we hear of no more of those forced appearances at Westminster, which must have occasioned to the holy Prelate so much suffering and humiliation, and he seems to have been left to breathe forth his soul to God in the silence of his prison cell, undisturbed by any fresh attacks, on September 5, 1569.[3]

Strype exultingly records the laying of the faithful Bishop's body "amongst thieves and murderers,"[4] in the churchyard of St George's, Southwark, the parish in which lay the prison. The circumstances of his burial there are learnt from Grindal's account of it to Cecil, written only four days after the Bishop's death.

"As I doubt not but ye have heard of Dr Bonner's

[1] "Dum rediret, Londini, quæ est Angliæ Metropolis, multos viros matronasque adhortatus est et (consolatus). Idem officium ejus urbis Episcopo literis scribendis præstitit, nam in carcere ille detinetur" (Annual Letters from the Jesuit Fathers of Paris, for the year 1568. Printed in *Papal Negotiations with Mary, Queen of Scots*, by Father Pollen, S.J., p. 507.).

[2] "Io particolarmente ho parlato in prigione al Vescovo di Londra." Dr Morton's Deposition. (Father Pollen's transcript of Laderchi's MS.)

[3] Godwin's *Catalogue of the Bishops of England*, 1601, p. 154.

[4] *Life of Grindal*, p. 142.

death, so I think it good to certify you of the order of his burial. The said Dr Bonner had stand excommunicate by a sentence in the Arches eight or nine years, and never desired absolution. Wherefore by the law Christian sepulture might have been denied him: but we thought not good to deal so rigorously, and therefore permitted him to be buried in St George's churchyard. And the same to be done not in the day solemnly, but in the night privily; which I and some others, with whom I conferred, thought requisite in that person for two causes. One was, I heard that *divers his popish cousins and friends in London assembled themselves, intending to honour his funeral so much as they could:* of which honour such a persecutor was not worthy, and specially in these days. Another was, for that I feared that the people of the city [to whom Bonner in his life was most odious] if they had seen flocking of Papists about his coffin, the same being well decked and covered, etc., they would have been moved with indignation, and so some quarrelling or tumult might have ensued thereupon. By his night-burial both the inconveniences have been avoided, and the same generally here well liked. What shall be judged of it at the court, I cannot tell; it is possible the report of his burial shall not there be made truly: but this I write unto you is the very truth. . . . From Fulham, 9° September 1569."[1]

It is certain, however, that the body of the holy Bishop was soon after rescued from its ignoble position in the churchyard of St George's, and conveyed to a resting place of greater honour by those who held him in the veneration he deserved. The fact that the martyred Prelate's Catholic relatives and friends were bent on paying him such honours as they could, is disclosed by Grindal's own letter above given; and the discovery, made nearly a hundred years ago, of the Bishop's remains at Copford, near Colchester, in Essex, proves that, in spite of his attempt to stop them, they succeeded in their purpose;

[1] Remains of Archbishop Grindal, p. 307.

though how soon afterwards, we have no means of knowing.

Copford had in happier days been a favourite place of residence to good Bishop Bonner, and it is plain that, at his death, there were still many there that loved him. The little that can be ascertained as to the secret removal of his body there, is told in the following communications[1] from its present Rector:—

"Copford Rectory, Colchester,
"*July* 1, 1904.

"Bishop Bonner is buried under the altar at Copford Church. As far as I am informed, he was not buried at St George's, Southwark, but was hid in a house at Easthorpe for ten days or twenty. In 1810, when sinking a grave for Dr Kelly, his coffin was discovered and left untouched. There is a tradition that the house in which his corpse was hid is about one mile from this church, and the villagers still point it out. No notice in Burial Registers, as his burial was in secret. Yours truly, E. Ruck Kime."

In answer to a further inquiry, the Rector again wrote on July 4:—

"When Dr Kelly died, Rector of Copford, in 1809(?), the workmen, when sinking his grave, found Bishop Bonner's coffin with his name on it on the north side of the altar. The coffin was left and not disturbed. Copford was his favourite country residence. I think this must decide his final resting-place. There has, I know, been considerable doubt as to where he was buried, but the fact that his coffin was found here in 1809 proves that the histories on this point are not correct. The tradition I mentioned also, about it having been hidden in a cottage at Easthorpe, also tends to confirm."

From this account it would appear that, when the Bishop's body was thus secretly laid to rest in Copford

[1] Addressed to Mr R. Raikes Bromage.

Church, the Catholics must have still been very influential there.

That the abuse so freely heaped upon him by his enemies in his lifetime did not prevent his Catholic contemporaries from holding him up to veneration, as a true Confessor and Martyr for the faith, is clear from the many testimonies we have quoted; and it seems indeed high time that this brave and holy Bishop, who, without ever being daunted, was again and again brought face to face with martyrdom, should be once more restored to his due place in the minds of the Catholics of the present day.

"There was a remarkable cheerfulness," writes Dodd, "always appeared in his countenance during his confinement, and such an intrepidity in his behaviour as could proceed from nothing but conscious innocence, and the alacrity of his spirits."[1]

[1] *Church History of England*, i., p. 496.

CHAPTER XVI

DEATH OF BISHOP BOURNE OF BATH IN 1569. EXCOMMUNICATION OF ELIZABETH BY ST PIUS V. IN 1570. THE POPE'S PRAISE OF THE IMPRISONED BISHOPS, AND HIS DECLARATION AS TO THOSE ALREADY DEAD

THE ill-success of Horne's attempt to administer the oath to Bishop Bonner seems for a time, at all events, to have secured his fellow-Confessors from similar attacks; and those of them whose deaths immediately followed, sank silently into their graves, worn out one after another by the sufferings of their confinement.

The hopelessness of assistance coming to them from abroad became more evident as time went on; and, though they were never forgotten by their fellow-Catholics, whether in England or in other countries, allusions to them in State Papers became rarer year by year, making it difficult for us to trace the history of them individually.

At the same time this very silence in regard to them is of itself clear proof both of the severity with which they were kept confined, and of their invincible adherence to the faith. For it is evident that, if any of them had ever enjoyed the freedom, of which Burghley and his followers so falsely boasted later, the fact would have been necessarily known to the Catholics of the time itself—by all of whom, nevertheless, the exact contrary is affirmed. It is plain, too, that if a single Bishop had ever so little faltered in his profession of the faith, the persecutors would themselves have been the first triumphantly to publish his defection.

The death of Bishop Gilbert Bourne of Bath and Wells, in regard to whose end we have unfortunately little information, took place only five days after that of Bishop Bonner, at Silverton in Devonshire.

The cheerful courage with which, in spite of his ill-health, he had set out from Somersetshire, in the June of 1560,[1] to obey the summons sent him by the Queen's Commissioners, has been already dwelt upon; and we have seen that he was one of the six Bishops confined in the Tower from the June of that same year until the September of 1563.

That during the plague time, when the Confessors were distributed amongst the Protestant Bishops' houses, Bishop Bourne had been committed to the keeping of Bullingham of Lincoln, is clear from a letter of Parker's to Sir William Cecil, dated January the 4th, 1566. In this Parker writes as follows:—

"My Lord of Lincoln desired me to be a suitor to your honour to obtain license that his guest, Mr Bourne, might be at his own house, which he hath here in London, for the Parliament time, being sufficiently bound to be quiet and to return again with him, or otherwise, when the said Bishop should repair home, because his own lodging here at Lambeth is too strait. If ye think that we by the Commission may do it, we shall not wish it to be moved to the Queen's Majesty or the Council. Praying your honour to grant his desire. . . . This 4th of January, 1565 [New Style, 1566].—Your Honour's always, MATTH. CANT."[2]

In what sense the word "*guest*" was used by Parker, we have seen already; and the fact of his alluding here to Bishop Bourne, as the guest of Bullingham of Lincoln,

[1] Father Bridgett's mistake in giving 1566 instead of 1560 as the date of Bishop Bourne's letter to Parker, has been already pointed out.

[2] Lansdowne MS. No. 8, No. 70 (now f. 184). Parliament had been summoned for February, 1566, though it did not meet until October.

shows us into whose custody he had been given on being removed from the Tower in 1563.

We have seen, however, that, some seven months before the date of this letter, the Bishops, who had been removed thence in the plague time, had been sent back into the Tower in the June of 1565, with Bishop Bourne presumably amongst them; nor is there in the letter anything to prove that he was not still there when Parker wrote to Cecil as above; although at that time it had evidently been proposed, at all events, to place the Bishop once more in the custody of Bullingham.

What reply was made by Cecil we have no means of knowing, nor is there any evidence of the Bishop's having been then placed again with Bullingham. If he was permitted for awhile to be in private custody in some house of his own, it can only have been for a short time, and under the restraints named by Parker in his letter. We have seen, at all events, that in the December of 1567 the Spanish ambassador wrote that those of the Catholic sufferers, who had already been imprisoned for some time, were then being "kept more closely than before"; and that Harding, in the spring of 1568, spoke of all the Bishops as being then in one or other of the London prisons.

Nevertheless, when death came at last to the holy Bishop of Bath's release, on the 10th of September 1569, it found him no longer in the Tower, but—as we learn from Godwin—he had been then "committed to the custody of Master Carey [Carew], Dean of her Majesty's Chapel, at Silverton in Devonshire."[1]

How long it was before his death that he had been removed there from the Tower seems nowhere to be mentioned; though Godwin—who apparently knew nothing of his previous imprisonments — is

[1] "*Catalogue of the Bishops of England* since the first planting of Christian Religion in this island," by F. G., Subdean of Exeter, 1601, p. 311. Earlier still in 1594 Godwin had drawn up a separate Catalogue *Episcoporum Bathoniensium et Wellensium*, the MS. of which is at Trinity College, Cambridge (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

evidently wrong in speaking of his having lived at Silverton with Dean Carew for "many years." His stay there in reality had probably been only a matter of some weeks or months.

The following account of Bishop Bourne's stay at Silverton is given by a more modern historian of the Bishops of Bath and Wells, who, however, had evidently failed to realise the imprisoned state in which the deposed Prelate had there resided. "The connection, which Bishop Bourne had with Silverton, probably was nothing more than an occasional residence; for I cannot find any one of his name in the tithe-books, which reach to the time in which he lived. There is an estate in the parish, called Boorn; but in the time of Edward I. it was the property of the Barrett family, from whom it passed to the Courtnays, and through them to the Carews, by whom it is held at present. I do not suppose the estate ever gave a name to the occupier, for the whole land of the parish was held in desmene by the Kings of England, both before and after the Conquest; and therefore no subject dared assume any appellation from it, if he had any regard to his safety. The residence of Bishop Bourne in Silverton could not have been long." [1]

Considering that the holy Bishop only lived there as a prisoner in the house of his keeper Dean Carew, it is not surprising that there is no mention of him in the tithe-books. But the above account is interesting from what it tells us of the property at Silverton—called by the Confessor's own name, though unconnected either with himself, or with his family—which was, it seems, the scene of his last sufferings and death.

The Courtenay family, with which the Carews were connected, became extinct upon the death in 1556 of Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, which thus marks the time when the Boorn estate at Silverton became the property of the Carews.

Dr George Carew, the keeper in whose custody the

[1] *Lives of the Bishops of Bath and Wells*, by the Rev. S. H. Cassan, 1829, p. 463.

Bishop died, was the third son of Sir Edmund Carew, who left much property in Devonshire to his descendants. We may form some opinion of Dr Carew's character from the ease with which he had accepted each religious change in turn. Under Henry VIII. he had become Archdeacon of Totnes in 1534, but had married under Edward. Nevertheless, his wife having died meantime, he had contrived to keep the Archdeaconry of Exeter all through the reign of Mary, on whose death he at once passed over to the religion of Elizabeth, being named Dean of the Royal Chapel soon after her accession.[1] He it was, in fact, who, at her coronation, had sacrilegiously sung the Mass without the elevation either of the Sacred Host or Chalice.

Such was the unprincipled time server into whose hands the saintly Prelate had been given in the last days of his long and wearisome imprisonment; and it is easy to see how little sympathy a thorough worldling like Carew would be likely to feel for the deprived Bishop, whose whole conduct had been a condemnation of his own, and who, rather than offend against his conscience, had left high dignities and riches to end his life in confinement.

It is true that Andrewes, enlarging on the words of Godwin (though omitting what the latter says as to his having been committed into Carew's *custody*), declares simply that Bourne "died in the house of Carew . . . *an old friend of his* (*veteris amici sui*)";[2] and implies, moreover, that with this "friend" of his he had passed the whole ten years—or as he wrongly writes, "eleven,"—which had elapsed between his deprivation and his death;—giving no hint of any imprisonment at all! But we have seen

[1] De Feria, writing to the King on November 25, 1558, tells him how Elizabeth has taken away the office of Dean of the Chapel from the Bishop of Ely, to give it to "Carew, Archdeacon of Exeter, [who] was married in time of King Edward, but his wife is dead. They tell me he is neither learned nor wise."

[2] *Tortura Torti*, p. 146. Andrewes incorrectly calls Carew Dean, not of Windsor, but of Exeter. He only obtained the latter *deanery* in 1571, though he had long before been Archdeacon of Exeter.

already how little attention is due to Andrewes' statements on this matter.

As to the treatment experienced by Bishop Bourne outside the Tower, either during his earlier confinement in the house of Bullingham of Lincoln; or, nearer to his death, in that of Dean Carew, no definite account has reached us. The severity, however, with which he is likely to have been treated by the latter, may be gathered from the fierceness with which the persecution had been raging for months before his death. Thus we find the Spanish ambassador writing on May the 9th, 1569: "They are treating all Catholics with great rigour, and the prisons are full of them"; and again, a fortnight later: "The Catholics are being persecuted here more fiercely than ever."[1] Speaking of the time spent by the Confessor in the custody of Bullingham, Father Bridgett makes the following remarks, which apply, at least, equally to his imprisonment under Carew:—

"What, now, was the nature of this imprisonment in the house of a Protestant Bishop? . . . Heylin describes it as being 'kindly entertained'; . . . and others call the prisoners 'honoured guests.' The word 'guest' is ambiguous. The Catholic Bishops were no more truly guests of their Protestant keepers than travellers are guests in a hotel. Their entertainment was paid for.[2] . . . Andrewes says 'they lived free of cost, in plenty, in ease, and with no discomfort'—*gratis sine sumptu, copiose sine defectu, in otio sine molestia omni.* This is a pretty picture, but it rests on no evidence. Indeed, there is a letter of Lord Henry Howard to Burghley, of 26th April 1572, written from Lambeth, in which he says he would rather have an open

[1] *Spanish Calendar*, May 9 and 23, 1569.

[2] That the imprisoned Prelates were required to *pay* their episcopal jailers for their board, is proved by the Council's letter of September 15, 1563, committing Bishop Thirlby and Dr Boxall to the custody of Parker, which has been already quoted. In this the Council wrote: "For the charges of their commons during the time of their abode with you, we think good that they do satisfy your lordship for the same according to reason" (*Parker Correspondence*, p. 192).

imprisonment in the Fleet than the close keeping in the Archbishop's palace (*R. O. Dom. Eliz.*, vol. lxxxvi. p. 25). But supposing Andrewes' picture true as regards the body, what does it imply with regard to the soul? What is the meaning of *otium* under such circumstances? Surely the very bitterest of pains that could be inflicted on a priest zealous for the faith and the Church, as these men undoubtedly were. Even supposing they could forget the souls of which they were the legitimate pastors, and from whose care they were violently torn, what kind of natural activity or of study could they pursue in the houses of their fanatical hosts? When the new Bishops were issuing injunctions for the utter destruction of all breviaries (*portuouses*) and other books of Latin service, is it to be thought they would grant the use of them within their own houses? We must not think of these first intruders into the Catholic Sees of England as if they were modern Anglican Bishops, gentlemen of refinement and of enlarged and liberal minds, who, if we could imagine them in the positions of unwilling jailers to Catholic Bishops, would seek by every means to alleviate their lot. The first Protestant Bishops were, almost without exception, the bitterest of Puritan fanatics, and they were under the express orders of the Council to seek by every means to bring their prisoners to conformity. Their unfortunate 'guests'—deprived of Mass, of Communion, of Confession, of the Divine Office, of books of Catholic Theology—were continually urged to read their heretical treatises, or to listen to their wearisome disputations and negations. . . . How little room there was for the least morose of these gentlemen to grant those indulgences of comfort, plenty, and liberty imagined by our historians, may be seen from the code of discipline drawn up by the Council and sent to each of the custodians."[1]

The "code of discipline," to which Father Bridgett here refers, is preserved amongst the Lansdowne manuscripts, and was issued by the Council to the Protestant Bishops in 1577, to be followed by them in their management of

[1] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 93.

the Catholic prisoners entrusted to them. There can be no doubt that it represents, at all events in substance, the rules by which the treatment of such prisoners had been determined from the first; and thus we can form from it an idea of the life led by Bishop Bourne in the houses of Bullingham and of Carew.

"A Form to be observed by my Lords the Bishops in the ordering of such as were committed to their custody for Popery.

"1. That his lodging be in such a convenient part of your house, as he may both be there in safe custody, and also have no easy access of your household people unto him, other than such as you shall appoint and know to be settled in religion and honesty, as that they may not be perverted in religion, or any otherwise corrupted by him.

"2. That he be not admitted unto your own table, except upon some good occasion to have ministered to him there in that presence of some that shall happen to resort unto you such talk whereby the hearers may be confirmed in the truth, but to have his diet by himself alone in his chamber, and that in no superfluity, but after the spare manner of scholar's commons.

"3. That you suffer none (unless some one to attend upon him) to have access unto him, but such as you shall know to be persons well confirmed in true religion, and are likely [not] to be weakened in the profession of the said religion by any conference they shall have with him.

"4. That you permit him not at any time and place, whilst he is with you, to enter into any disputation of matters of religion, or to reason thereof, otherwise than upon such occasion as shall be by you, or in your presence, with your good liking by some other ministered unto him.

"5. That he have ministered unto him such books of learned men and sound writers in Divinity as you are able to lend him, and none other.

"6. That he have no liberty to walk abroad to take the

air, but when yourself is at best leisure to go with him, or accompanied with such as you shall appoint.

"7. That you do your endeavour by all good persuasions to bring him to the hearing of sermons, and other exercize of religion in your house, and the chapel or church, which you most commonly frequent."[1]

And it is this state of real and close imprisonment that has been flippantly described by Camden and his followers as *free custody!* To have to bear up day by day and week by week against the constant persecution, which these rules prescribed, was indeed to suffer a slow though most true *martyrdom*, as Allen and the other Catholic writers of the time declared.

Such, then, was the martyrdom by which, on the 10th of September 1569, the holy Bishop Bourne of Bath and Wells at last won his crown, in the custody of Dean Carew, after many years of probably still closer confinement in the Tower.

Cassan writes that Bishop Bourne was buried in the church at Silverton, "on the south side of the altar."[2] There he is thought still to rest, although no monument or inscription marks his tomb, and it seems doubtful whether any such ever was erected. An old copy of Godwin's *Catalogue of English Bishops*, now in the British Museum, contains written in it the following note by one "Henry Masterman": "By a letter from my good friend, Mr Bartholomew White of the city of Exon, dated 15 August 1683, I was informed that he then had lately bin at Silverton or Silferton in Devonshire, and had diligently viewed the Parish Church there, but could not find any monument, gravestone, inscription, or other memoriall of Gilbert Bourne, Bishop of Bathe and Wells."[3] The Latin edition of Godwin's *De Præsulibus Angliæ*, brought out in 1743,

[1] Lansdowne MS. 155, f. 198 *b*. A copy of the same occurs also in Egerton MS. 2790, f. 227.

[2] *Lives of the Bishops of Bath and Wells*, p. 464.

[3] Kindly copied from the book in the British Museum by Mr R. Raikes Bromage.

contains a note to the same effect appended by the editor, who wrote with reference to our Bishop's burial at Silverton: "*De eo nulla in ecclesia supersunt vestigia.*"[1]

In the February of the year 1570—less than six months after the holy deaths of the Bishops of London and of Bath and Wells—Pope St Pius V. proceeded at last to pronounce against Elizabeth the solemn sentence of her excommunication, which had been till then delayed in hope of her repentance.

The Bull *Regnans in excelsis*, in which on February 25 this sentence was published by St Pius, contained, as was natural, an enumeration of the crimes in consequence of which it was pronounced; the truth of the charges brought against Elizabeth having been sworn to by witnesses in the Process which preceded.

In this enumeration of her crimes, it was inevitable that her persecution of the Bishops should be prominently mentioned. But what for our purpose is especially deserving of attention, is the clearness with which, in speaking of such of the imprisoned Prelates as had then already died, the deaths of these are expressly attributed by the Pontiff to the hardships they had suffered in their prisons.

Omitting those parts of it, which do not directly here concern us, the Bull declares that "Elizabeth, the pretended Queen of England," had "unnaturally usurped to herself the place of Supreme Head of the Church in England, and the chief authority and jurisdiction": she had "forbidden the observance of the true religion, and embraced the errors of heretics, oppressing the observers of the Catholic faith." . . . She had "dared to take away their churches and benefices from the Bishops, rectors of churches, and other Catholic ecclesiastics, and given them to heretics." . . . Finally, she had "cast into prison the Catholic Bishops and rectors of churches, where many, *worn out by their protracted sufferings and sorrow, have ended their days in misery.*"[2]

[1] P. 388.

[2] "Catholicos antistites et ecclesiarum rectores in vincula conjecit,

"All this," the Bull continues, "being notorious and known to all nations, and so confirmed by the weighty testimony of very many witnesses as to leave no room for excuse, defence, or evasion, . . . the persecution, moreover, of the faithful . . . growing daily greater, . . . we cannot control our grief at being obliged to proceed against one whose predecessors have deserved so well of Christendom."[1]

The above words make it apparently impossible to doubt that, in the judgment of St Pius, the captive Prelates' deaths had been directly due to their imprisonment; and the self-same thing had been already said by him a few days earlier in the judgment delivered by him at the conclusion of the Process, on February 12. For in this was named, as one of the grounds of the Queen's condemnation, her having "allowed the Bishops and other Catholics . . . to be committed to the prisons *to pine away and die*."[2]

It is important also to note the exact agreement that there is between these two authoritative judgments of St Pius V., and the inscription set up some years later, with his successor's approval, in the English College Church. For in reality this latter did no more than assert, with reference *to all of the eleven Bishops* dead by that time, what St Pius had already said of such of them as died before the excommunication of the Queen.

Another striking proof of the esteem and veneration in which St Pius V. held the Bishops cast into prison by Elizabeth—whether then still living in confinement, or already gone to their reward—is to be found in the letter, which was addressed by him at this same time to the two Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, who had written asking his advice before they entered on the unsuccessful Rising of the North, though eventually

ubi multi diuturno languore et tristitia confecti, extremum vitæ diem misere finierunt."

[1] Laderchi, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, t. xxxvii., p. 169, ed. 1883.

[2] "Præfatos Episcopos . . . carceribus mancipari, marcescere, et mori permittere" (*Ibid.*, p. 163).

they were driven into taking action without waiting for his answer.

St Pius's letter to the two Earls, dated February 22, 1570, is printed by Laderchi in his *Annals;* and it is clear from it that they, in their own letter to the Pontiff, had referred in some special manner to the sufferings of the imprisoned Bishops. Their letter, however, as the Pope says in his reply, had not arrived in Rome until six days before that on which he wrote—four days therefore after the Process against Elizabeth had been concluded, since the Pontiff's verdict had been given on the 12th.

We are not here concerned with the first portion of the letter of St Pius, in which he gives his blessing to the Earls' "pious and religious undertaking," viz., their endeavour "to recall England to its ancient obedience to the Holy See"; but only with that part of it, in which he speaks of the imprisoned Bishops. With reference to these he writes: "Do not think, beloved sons in Christ, that those Bishops or other leading Catholics of your country, whom you mention, have made an unhappy end; who, on account of their refusal to give up the confession of the Catholic faith, have been either cast into prisons, or made undeservedly to suffer other punishments. For *no one can praise the constancy of these men as much as it deserves*, strengthened, as we believe it is, by the still effectual example of the Blessed Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury. Imitating this same constancy yourselves, be brave and resolute, and desist not from your undertaking on account of menaces or threats of any dangers!"[1]

St Pius could not have more forcibly made known his admiration for the heroism of the imprisoned sufferers, than by holding them up as worthy imitators of the glorious St Thomas.

[1] Laderchi, *ibid.*, p. 179.

CHAPTER XVII

SUFFERINGS OF THE SURVIVING PRELATES IN THE TOWER. DEATH OF BISHOPS THIRLBY OF ELY AND TURBERVILLE OF EXETER. DECLARATION AS TO THE IMPRISONED BISHOPS MADE BY HARDING, ALLEN, AND OTHERS, TO POPE GREGORY XIII. TESTIMONY OF A SCOTTISH BISHOP TO THEIR SANCTITY

At the time of the Queen's excommunication, in the February of 1570, there were still surviving in the Tower four of the Bishops, whom she had deposed and cast into prison; namely, the Archbishop of York, together with the two Bishops of Ely and of Exeter, who were both to win their crowns before the end of that same year, and the Bishop of Lincoln, who was destined to outlive all the eleven of the English College pictures.

In the Tower these had had for some years, as a fellow-prisoner, the venerable Primate of Armagh, Archbishop Richard Creagh, who was allowed, however, in the March of 1570, to return to Ireland for some years on bail.[1]

[1] Archbishop Creagh was first sent to the Tower on February 22, 1565; but escaped on the following Low Sunday, April 29, as it would seem almost miraculously (Cardinal Moran, *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, p. 42). He was recaptured in Ireland on April 30, 1567 (*Calendar, Ireland*, May 31, 1567); and sent back to the Tower on November 6, 1567 (*Spanish Calendar*, November 8, 1567). He remained in the Tower till March 1570, when he was released on bail, and returned to Ireland (*Spanish Calendar*, March 27, 1570). In Ireland he was imprisoned in May 1574 (*Cal. Dom.*, May 17, 1574). He was again placed in the Tower on March 4, 1575 (Hist. MSS. Com. Hatfield Papers, part ii., p. 94). He died in the Tower on October 14, 1585.

In a letter addressed to the Council later, this venerable Confessor has left a piteous account of his own sufferings in the Tower, from which we can form a notion of what it is not unlikely our own Bishops also had to bear. The letter in question was written by Archbishop Creagh, soon after his recommittal to the Tower in 1575, to clear himself from some of the charges brought against him. In it he refers as follows to the sufferings, which his previous confinements there and in Ireland had brought upon him. "My dwelling in Alesboure (?) in this Tower the first time, for more than a month's space might, may chance, make a strong man to wish liberty, if for his life he could, . . . but foregoing further rehearse of *bearing, almost this eight years, irons*, with one of my legs (to the beholder's judgment) lost by the same; of my manifold sickness, colic, stones, . . . loss of all my big teeth save two, and daily sore rhumes, etc., and many other like miseries."[1]

That the irons, which had deprived the poor Archbishop of the use of one of his legs, had been worn by him in the Tower, during his confinement there from 1567 to 1570, when the surviving English Bishops were his fellow-prisoners, is proved by a letter of Guzman de Silva's to King Philip, dated July 17, 1568, in which he writes that he had asked the Queen "to be more merciful" to the Archbishop of Armagh, "*taking off his chains*," but that her only answer was that "she had inquired," and that he "had been a traitor and a rebel."[2]

It may be that his earlier escape from the Tower, in 1565, had been made a pretext for treating Archbishop Creagh with particular severity when he was recaptured; but it is well known how common a thing it was for prisoners in the Tower to be put in irons; and, considering the cruel methods then in vogue, it seems not unlikely

[1] Archbishop Creagh's letter, which is not dated, is printed in full in Cardinal Moran's *Spicilegium Ossoriense* (pp. 45-50), from *State Papers of Ireland*, Elizabeth, vol. xlviii., No. 86. In the *Calendar* it is wrongly placed under December 1574, though it was clearly not written till after he had been replaced in the Tower in the following March.

[2] *Spanish Calendar*, July 17, 1568.

that, at all events in the case of some of our Bishops, Bridgewater's description of them, as having died *in vinculis*, may have been literally true.

"It is needless to say," wrote Father Morris in describing the sufferings of the Elizabethan Martyrs, "that imprisonment often meant being laden with irons. Of one we are told that the shackles were rusty when they were put on him, and were bright by long usage. Of more than one we have the touching story that they paid the gaoler when he put their irons on, and he, expecting more, took them off again and received nothing; then replacing them, to his surprise was again rewarded. B. Everard Hanse [1581] at his trial, when called on to plead, held up his left hand, and was reproached by the Recorder for spiritual pride that he would not hold up his anointed right hand. 'But the truth was, he did it because his right hand was occupied in easing himself by holding up the great bolts wherewith the blessed man was exceedingly laden; for, being admonished, he forthwith stretched forth his right hand.' In another case a martyr was allowed to hire a boy to help him to bear his irons, which were more than he could carry. This was Roger Cadwallador, of whom a pretty story is told, that 'a notable person coming up to him in his sickness, and he lying on his bed with his shackles on his legs, shaking them, said to him, 'the high priest of the old law had little bells about the rim of his vestment, and I, stirring my legs, say: Audi Domine, hæc sunt tintinabula mea: Hear, O Lord, these are my little bells.'"[1]

The diary of a priest who was imprisoned in the Tower from 1580 to 1585, which is published at the end of Rishton's *History*, contains continual allusions to the fetters placed for a longer or a shorter period upon the prisoners;[2] and the case of the Archbishop of Armagh

[1] *The English Martyrs*, a Lecture given at Stonyhurst College, p. 11.

[2] The diary is shown by Mr Gillow (*Dictionary of English Catholics*, article "Rishton") to have probably been the work of Father John Hart, S.J., banished from the Tower in 1585.

proves, at all events, that the episcopal dignity brought no exemption from this torment to its bearers.

We have seen that Cardinal Allen, in a passage quoted further back, mentions, as one of the sufferings of the imprisoned Prelates, "their tossing and shifting from one superintendent's house to another, from one keeper to another, from one prison to another, . . . whereof some of them," he says—referring to the Bishop of Lincoln, the only one still living when he wrote—"now have tasted for twenty-five years together."[1]

The "tossing and shifting," to which the Bishop of Ely (the first of the remaining ones to die), was subjected during the eleven years of his imprisonment, seems, as far as we can ascertain, to have been always between Parker's residence, either at Lambeth or at Beaksbourne, and the Tower. Between these two places of imprisonment, however, the Confessor must have been shifted from one to the other at least some five or six times.

After the recommittal of the Bishops to the Tower in the June of 1565, Thirlby seems to have been left there for two years or more, until we again hear of him at Lambeth towards the end of 1567. A slight lull in the persecution at that time may have had to do with his removal from the Tower; as, on August 16 of that year, we find Guzman de Silva writing: "The steps against the Catholics are not now so severe as formerly. Indeed, they are becoming daily milder."[2] It was about the same time, moreover, that the false rumours were circulated of the liberation of the Bishops, which have been already noticed.

From the following letter of De Silva's, dated November 1, 1567, we learn that both Bishop Thirlby and Dean Boxall were then at any rate with Parker, and for the moment apparently held under less constraint. It is evident, moreover, that, either from themselves, or others, the ambassador had found means of gaining information as to what took place in Parker's house.

"I am informed," writes De Silva, "that a week since

[1] *True, Sincere, and Modest Defence*, p. 52.

[2] *Spanish Calendar*, August 16, 1567.

Cecil scolded the Archbishop of Canterbury roundly for allowing too much liberty to the good Bishop of Ely and Secretary Boxall, who are in his keeping; and the Archbishop immediately called his household together, and told them he heard there were some Papists among them whom, if he could discover them, he would severely punish, as he was an enemy of all such. He ordered that the Bishop of Ely and Boxall should communicate with nobody, and should be kept close. Three days after, the Archbishop summoned the Bishop and Boxall, and after they had dined with him, he took them aside and told them not to be distressed or alarmed at what had been done with them, as he had been compelled to do it. After he had reassured them, he asked them if any reasons would excuse subjects rising against their rulers, to which the Bishop replied in the negative; and the Archbishop pointed out that some authorities held to the contrary. Boxall thereupon said, only Calvinists and such like heretics did so, for the Apostles were always faithful to their princes, although they were pagans." [1]

We see here again, how completely subservient Parker was to Cecil, as regards the treatment of his prisoners; even when disposed personally to show some kindness to them.

Immediately after this little episode, we find mention of a fresh outbreak of persecution, during which the poor Bishop, it seems, was again sent back to the Tower; and we have seen already that in 1568 all the Bishops were in one or other of the public prisons.

"Five days since," wrote De Silva on the first day of the next month, "all the houses in this city were visited and a memorandum taken of the people living therein, with the parish churches where they attend divine service, and what religion they profess. . . . This has been done on previous occasions, but they say never with so much care. . . . At the same time certain of the English people who came to hear Mass at my house were summoned by the Queen's Commissioners." [2]

Three weeks later De Silva wrote again on December

[1] *Spanish Calendar*, November 1, 1567. [2] *Ibid.*, December 1, 1567.

21, telling the King, as has been already mentioned, that those of the Catholics, "who have been imprisoned for some time, are kept more closely than formerly."[1]

There can be hardly any doubt that the return of Bishop Thirlby to the Tower was connected with this renewal of severity towards the Catholic prisoners at the end of 1567. From that time until the day before his death, in the August of 1570, no mention of him can be found, either in the letters of Parker (of which many of that period have been preserved), or, in those of the Spanish ambassador, which would hardly have been possible, if he had remained at Lambeth in the interval.

On the other hand, at the beginning of the very month in which Bishop Thirlby died, we find the Tower still spoken of as well-known to be the prison of those whom the persecutors called the *quondam* Bishops.

It was remarked by Father Bridgett that "we do not know of any molestation of the Bishops" at the time of the Northern Rising in 1569, or at the publication of the Bull of St Pius V.[2] He had not realised the fact, however, that all of the four Bishops, who were then surviving, were already safely lodged within the walls of the State Prison. How far the severities of their confinement may, or may not, have been increased in consequence, we can but conjecture. The situation in the country was thus summed up by the Spanish ambassador on June the 12th, 1570: "The Protestants here are providing arms against their enemies and books against the Pope's Bull, whilst the Catholics are biding their time to do their duty, and, in the meantime, suffering bitter servitude."[3] A Spanish merchant resident in London, named Antonio de Guaras, in a letter to the Spanish Secretary of State, dated June the 30th, describes the Government as fluctuating between fury at the excommunication — many persons being prosecuted and imprisoned—and their fear of foreign intervention, which led them at times "to show some out-

[1] *Ibid.*, December 21, 1567.
[2] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 115.
[3] *Spanish Calendar*, June 12, 1570.

ward favour to Catholics, some of whom have been released from prison, where they were for conscience' sake, whilst others in the Tower have been given more freedom."[1]

The fact that the Bishop of Lincoln was then still imprisoned in the Tower, is made certain by the mention of him in a list of "such prisoners as are remaining within the Queen's Majesty's Tower," twenty-four in number—made out in the spring of 1570.[2]

This list, however, which is headed by the Duke of Norfolk—himself then a prisoner in the Tower—seems only to contain the names of such of the Tower prisoners[3] as were suspected of being implicated in his plans; as then was Bishop Watson, who is the only Bishop mentioned in the list.[4]

That the Bishop of Lincoln, moreover, was not the only Bishop then imprisoned in the Tower, is proved by the document which we have next to speak of, in which the Bishops there confined are mentioned in the plural.[5]

In the July of the same year 1570, London was again visited with an outbreak of the plague, which in the last week of the month, as we learn from a letter of De Guaras, carried off no less than 96 in the city, "besides two in the Tower."[6]

[1] *Ibid.*, June 30, 1570.

[2] *R. O. Dom. Eliz.*, vol. lxvii., No. 93. The date of the list, which includes the four Nortons sent up to London on the suppression of the rising, cannot be later than May 27, on which day Thomas and Christopher Norton were executed.

[3] On March 1, 1570, the Lieutenant of the Tower was paid for the keep of *forty* prisoners for 121 days (*Domestic Calendar*, *Addenda*, 1566-1579, pp. 312, 313. There must, therefore, have been many others besides those named in the above list.

[4] The suspicions entertained against Bishop Watson are mentioned in a letter of Sir Henry Nevell, the Duke of Norfolk's keeper, to Cecil (History MSS. Com. Report, MSS. of Marquis of Salisbury, part i., p. 476).

[5] Archbishop Creagh had returned on bail to Ireland in the preceding March. He cannot, therefore, have been one of those referred to. Not having seen the papers which prove Creagh's release on bail in 1570, Card. Moran was led (*Spicil. Ossor.* 38) to speak of him as in the Tower from 1567 till his death.

[6] *Spanish Calendar*, August 1, 1570.

Amongst the *State Papers* there has been preserved a document addressed seemingly to the Council, dated August 2, 1570, and headed "Observations by —— on the submission of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, of 23rd June"; at the end of which we find the following infamous suggestion to make use of the plague for the removal of the deposed Bishops.

"There died lately one in the Tower of the Plague, as it is suggested, whereby is some hope of deliverance or at least great suit. There be some in the Tower" (*Episcopi quondam*, in the margin), "to whose cases I would otherwise turn it, or that their men come no more abroad to fetch the plague, or themselves go too far abroad to carry a worse plague. Close prison is best for all sides, ii. August 1570."[1]

The author of this shameful proposition had the wisdom not to affix to it his name, but nothing could better show the murderous spirit, which was understood to actuate the men who had the lives of the imprisoned Prelates in their hands, than that a proposal, such as the above, should have been able to be laid in this official way before them.

With regard, moreover, to at least one of the holy sufferers—Bishop Turberville of Exeter, whose death followed not long after—we have great reason for believing the suggestion to have been in fact adopted, and with the result so maliciously desired. Nor is there any evidence that, until considerably later, either the Archbishop of York, or the Bishop of Lincoln, was taken from the plague-infected Tower; although, on the very day which followed the making of this suggestion to leave the poor Bishops to their fate, the Queen wrote to the Lieutenant of the Tower, directing him "to remove the Duke of Norfolk to his own house, for fear of the infection of the plague."[2]

It does seem indeed that—perhaps at the intercession of some friend at court—the Bishop of Ely was taken at

[1] R. O., vol. xix., No. 1.

[2] *Domestic Calendar*, August 3, 1570. "The Queen to the Lieutenant of the Tower and Sir Henry Nevell."

this time from the Tower; though only to die almost immediately after, in Parker's house at Lambeth. That his removal to Lambeth can hardly have occurred much before the month of August, seems clear from the fact that Parker himself did not return there from a long stay at Canterbury, till the 17th or 18th of July.[1]

All that can be learnt regarding the last illness of the Bishop, is told in the following letter, written, on the day before his death, by Parker to Sir William Cecil. The remark, made in it by Parker, as to the thoughts which Thirlby's presence had suggested to him, seems of itself to imply that the latter's coming to his house had been only recent. After referring, in the earlier portion of the letter, to the death only a few days before of the wife whom he had taken in violation of his sacerdotal vow, Parker thus continues :—

"The cause of my writing is partly of the motion of the friends of Mr Dr Thirlby, who (as himself desireth) would wish in this his great sickness to be removed from my house to his friends, for better cherishing and in hope of his recovery. I would grant no further but the choice of three or four large chambers within my house, except you can agree thereto, and for this cause this messenger cometh to your honour to know the Queen's Majesty's pleasure; which understanded, in circumstances as they shall be prescribed, so shall they be followed, if it please Almighty God to continue me any further in life, having somewhat ado to keep myself upon my foot. I thought by his presence (being both of us much of an age) to learn to forsake the world and die to God; and hereto I trust to incline myself, what length or shortness of life soever may follow. . . . From my house at Lambeth, this 25th of August" (1570).[2]

The friends of the sick Bishop, who are above referred

[1] Strype, *Life of Parker*, Book IV., chap. iii. ; *Parker Correspondence*, pp. 365, 368.

[2] *Correspondence of Archbishop Parker*, p. 369.

to as petitioning for his removal to their own house, were (there seems hardly room to doubt) a certain Richard Blackwall, citizen of London, and Margaret his wife—devoted relatives of Bishop Thirlby's—to whom he had conveyed the remains of his private fortune, which they administered for his use. "These good people," says Father Bridgett, "had, at one period, perhaps between his deposition and imprisonment, entertained Dr Thirlby in their house, as we learn from a letter of the Recorder of London to the Lord Treasurer, "My good Lord . . . Katherine Carus, the late Justice's wife, my countrywoman, with all her pride and popery, is this week gone (as I trust) to God. She died *in Bishop Thirlby's chamber*, in Mrs Blackwall's house in the Blackfriars. . . . This first Sunday after Michaelmas. At Baem House, in London, 1577."[1]

Whether it was that the request of these good friends to be allowed to nurse the dying Confessor was rejected by the heartless Cecil, or that his own condition prevented his removal, certain it is, at all events, that the Bishop of Ely expired in the house of Parker. The Protestant Archbishop's letter is, moreover, a pitiful proof of his slavish dependence upon Cecil, without whose permission he did not dare, even in his own house, to move the suffering Prelate from the cell in which he was confined into a more airy chamber. It thus effectually explodes his own pretence that the deprived Bishops were entertained as "guests" by their supplanters.

On the day after Parker had written as above to Cecil, good Bishop Thirlby died on the 26th of August 1570, a little more than eleven years after his unjust deposition by Elizabeth. Of these eleven years—although almost all historians have ignored the fact—hardly less than eight in all must have been spent by him in the Tower, whilst he passed the remainder shut up in the house of Parker.

"He went, as we may well believe," writes Father Bridgett, "to that Father's House, where there are many

[1] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 105. Father Bridgett quotes the Recorder's letter from Lansdowne MSS., N. 24, f. 196.

mansions, and for whose sake he had renounced ease and liberty, and witnessed good confession."[1]

The Bishop's burial, two days after his death, is thus found recorded in the Lambeth Parish Register, though the spelling is here modernised:—

"1570, August the xxviii. day, buried Mr Thomas Thirlby, Doctor of Civil Law, born in Cambridge, the student sometime of Trinity College there, and sometime Bishop of Westminster, afterward Bishop of Norwich, and in Queen Mary's days Bishop of Ely; who in the time of the noble King Edward professed the faith of the holy Gospel, and afterward, in the time of Queen Mary, returned to Papistry, and so continued in the same to his end, and died the Queen's Majesty's prisoner, within my Lord Grace's house at Lambeth."[2]

Godwin, in his Catalogue of English Bishops, published in 1601, writes that Bishop Thirlby "departed this life at Lambeth, August 26, 1570, and lieth buried in the middle of the chancel there at the head of Bishop Tunstall under a marble stone."[3] This stone, the historians of Lambeth tell us, bore the following inscription: "*Hic jacet Thomas Thirlebye, obin Epus. Elien, qui ob.* 26 *Augusti Anno Domini* 1570."[4]

In speaking of the death of Bishop Tunstall, who in Parker's house had then had Bishop Thirlby for his fellow-prisoner, we took notice of the slanderous charge which (in the Life of Parker known as the *Matthæus*), was brought afterwards, not only against Tunstall but against his fellow-prisoners also, of having been won back by Parker "from the worst of their Popish errors."

[1] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 104.

[2] Copied for the writer from the Register of Lambeth Parish Church by Mr R. Raikes Bromage.

[3] *Catalogue of the Bishops of England*, 1601, p. 225.

[4] Ducarel, in his *History and Antiquities of Lambeth*, p. 37, gives the year by mistake, as 1579. It is correctly given in Thom. Allen's *History and Antiquities of the Parish of Lambeth*, p. iii.

The falseness of this accusation, and the worthlessness of this and other statements found in the *Matthæus*, has been, we trust, already shown sufficiently. But we must not fail to notice the explicit contradiction given to it, at the actual time of Bishop Thirlby's death, in the official record of his burial above quoted from the Lambeth Register.

We saw before that, as far as concerns Bishop Tunstall, the calumny of the *Matthæus* is in reality sufficiently disproved by the fact of his burial being recorded in the Register simply as that of "*A Popish Bishop.*"

But in the case of Bishop Thirlby, we find this same Register, not merely explicitly declaring that the holy Confessor had "*continued in the same Papistry to his end*," to which he had "returned in the time of Queen Mary"; but undisguisedly affirming also that he had "died the Queen's Majesty's *prisoner* within my Lord Grace's house."

"From this," remarks Father Bridgett, "it appears that the theory of honoured guest and full liberty was not yet invented."[1] We have seen indeed that Parker, in his letters, did (though not always) affect to describe the imprisoned Prelates as his "guests"; but it is quite plain from the Lambeth Register that, at all events, its official keeper was under no delusion as to the position in his master's house, which they had really occupied.

After the death of Bishop Thirlby, a suit in Chancery was commenced by Cox, who then held the See of Ely, for the recovery of certain moneys unjustly claimed by him as belonging to that See, from the Bishop's good friends the Blackwalls, who throughout his long imprisonment had so devotedly assisted him. The Blackwalls were able to show, however, that there only remained five marks of the money, which he had conveyed to them, the rest having all been administered by them for his use.

Papers connected with this suit make it plain, moreover, that the expenses of his burial had been defrayed—not, as Strype[2] gives it to be understood, by Parker—but by these

[1] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 106.
[2] *Life of Parker*, Book II., chap. xvi.

same faithful friends alone, for these papers state that: "None of his other allies or kinsfolk, being thereunto requested," had been willing to "meddle with his body; till Margaret Blackwall, out of charity, caused it to be conveniently laid in the earth *at her own charge*."[1]

The religious care with which this pious Catholic lady had endeavoured to do all the honour that she could to the holy Bishop's body, in preparing it for burial, was proved by the condition in which it was discovered, when accidentally disturbed in 1783.

The following interesting account of its discovery is taken from Ducarel's *History and Antiquities of Lambeth.*

"On opening the grave for the interment of Archbishop Cornwallis in March 1783, a stout leaden coffin was discovered, 6 feet 6 inches long, 1 foot 8 inches wide, and but 9 inches deep; in which had been deposited the remains of Bishop Thirlby. The coffin was in fashion somewhat like a horse trough, and had all the appearance of never having been covered with wood; the earth around it being perfectly dry and crumbly. By the ill-judged officiousness of the grave-digger, who had accidentally struck his pick-axe into it, and afterwards enlarged the hole, the discovery became so public, that the church was crowded before the matter was known to the proper officers, and before such observations could be made as the curiosity of the subject deserved. The principal circumstances that occurred were, that the body, which was wrapped in fine linen, was moist, and had evidently been preserved in some species of pickle, which still retained a volatile smell, not unlike that of hartshorn; the flesh was preserved, and had the appearance of a mummy; the face was perfect, and the limbs flexible; the beard of a remarkable length, and beautifully white. The linen and woollen

[1] *Society in the Elizabethan Age*, p. 111. In this book Mr Hubert Hall has given an interesting abridgment of the documents connected with Cox's suit against the Blackwalls; as also of those of an earlier attempt of his to obtain certain sums from Bishop Thirlby in his lifetime.

garments were all well preserved. The cap, which was of silk, and adorned with point lace, had probably been black, but the colour was discharged; it was in fashion like that represented in the pictures of Archbishop Juxon. A slouched hat, with strings fastened to it, was under the left arm. There was also a cassock so fastened as to appear like an apron with strings, and several small pieces of the Bishop's garments, which had the appearance of a pilgrim's habit. The above curious particulars were communicated by Mr Buckmaster to Dr Vyse, who directed every part to be properly replaced in the coffin. Mr Buckmaster saw the Bishop's head entire; and the gravedigger put his hand into the coffin, and said, 'the legs and body were so.' The remains of Archbishop Cornwallis were afterwards deposited in an adjoining grave, which has since been properly covered over with an arch of brick."[1]

When thus discovered, in 1783, the body of the venerable Prelate, who had died at Lambeth, a close prisoner for the faith, had lain there already for more than two hundred years; and, although the preservation of his body does not require us to assume that there had been any supernatural intervention; nevertheless, the extraordinary care which his devout relatives had taken to robe his body for the grave,—joined to their preservation of the room in their own house, in which they once had lodged him, as a kind of sanctuary, called from that time "Bishop Thirlby's chamber,"—would all seem to point to their belief that his long sufferings for his religion had obtained for him a Martyr's crown in heaven, as was in fact asserted by the Catholic writers of the time.

Unfortunately, our materials for relating the death of good Bishop Turberville of Exeter, who died not long after Bishop Thirlby, are but scanty.

We need not again occupy the attention of the reader with the shameless assertion of Lord Burghley—repeated by Andrewes and so many others—that Bishop Turberville

[1] *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, Ducarel's History of Lambeth, App. XXII.

had "lived at his own liberty to the end of his life"; for this we have seen contradicted both by Lord Burghley's own letters, and by other State Papers.

It is, indeed, quite evident, and has been remarked already, that if, as Burghley stated, Bishop Turberville had really lived on at liberty until his death—no matter whether here in England, or on the continent in exile—it would have been impossible that the Catholics should not have known the fact. Yet, instead of this, we find all the Catholic writers of the time, who allude to him at all, either naming him expressly in their lists of those that died in prison—as do Rishton and Bridgewater—or else implying so as clearly by their positive assertions that all the Bishops, excepting the two known to have died in exile, had perished in confinement.

It is, however, disappointing that none of these writers have preserved for us the precise date of the death of Bishop Turberville. We know, however, that it took place at all events before the August of 1572, when (as we shall see directly), Harding, Allen, and others made a declaration to Pope Gregory XIII. that two Bishops only—viz., Heath and Watson—were still living, all the others having then already perished from their sufferings.

Sander, when he drew up his long list of English sufferers for his *De Visibili* (which appeared about the July of 1571),[1] had heard of the death of Bishop Thirlby, but not yet of that of Bishop Turberville, whom he named accordingly along with Archbishop Heath and Bishop Watson, as still alive in prison. So large a work, however, as the *De Visibili*—a folio volume of more than 800 pages—must necessarily have been for some time in the press; and the list of sufferers appears to have been drawn up some while before the work was finished, since in it B. John Storey is named amongst those still alive; although further on the book contains an account of his martyrdom, which took place on June the 1st, 1571. Thus, in reality, Bishop Turberville may easily have been no longer living

[1] The dedication of the work to Pope St Pius V. is dated June 29, 1571.

at the time of the publication of the book; and his death is placed both by Father Bridgett and by the writer of the notice of him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, in the year 1570—it is true with some hesitation, though, it would seem, correctly.

In a work on the Antiquities of Exeter, published in 1677 by Richard Izacke, whom Sir T. Duffus Hardy follows,[1] the day and the month of the Bishop's death are given as the 1st of November; and though this writer was certainly mistaken in placing it in the year 1559, he must be supposed to have had authority for the day and month he names.[2]

It seems, therefore, safe to place the death of Bishop Turberville of Exeter on the 1st of November 1570; and it was in the August of that very year that we have seen the Bishops spoken of as being then shut up in the Tower, within which the plague had begun to claim its victims.

Whether or not it was the plague itself that put an ending to his sufferings, we are not told; though we have seen that it was what his enemies desired. The absence of all actual record, either of his death or of his burial, is of itself proof of the close confinement in which his days were ended; nor is he mentioned anywhere as having been outside the walls of the Tower, after the Bishops' recommittal to it in the June of 1565. If, like Bishops Bourne and Thirlby, he had been at any time transferred to other keeping, it seems certain that some trace or other of it would have been preserved to us.

It is true that Izacke, in the work already quoted, speaks of him as "buried in the body of the Choir of his own church" at Exeter; but those best qualified to know have assured the present writer that no such tradition is there known of; and the work of Izacke is criticised

[1] Le Neve's *Fasti*, edited by Sir T. Duffus Hardy, vol. i., p. 378.

[2] *Antiquities of the City of Exeter*, collected by Richard Izacke, Esquire, Chamberlain thereof, 1677, p. 43. In this work, Izacke professes to give "A perfect catalogue of all the Bishops of this Church, the county wherein they were born, the particular days of their instalment and consecration, continuance of government, the time of their decease, and places of their respective burials," etc.

in the *Dictionary of National Biography* as a somewhat "careless composition."

It seems certain, therefore, that the remains of the holy Bishop Turberville await their glorious resurrection, along with those of Bishop Pate of Worcester, within the precincts of the Tower.

The Bishop of Exeter was the tenth of those commemorated in the English College pictures, as having laid down their lives in prison for the faith. The Archbishop of York—the last of the eleven—had still to go through eight more years of confinement and of suffering, before he passed to his heavenly reward from a cell in the same State Prison in which Bishop Turberville had breathed his last.

Before, however, continuing the history of the Archbishop, it is necessary to bring under the attention of the reader a document belonging to the period we have now reached, which for centuries has lain forgotten, though of the greatest interest and value in connection with the history of the imprisoned Bishops and their picture at Rome.

Pope Gregory XIII., the Pontiff, who a little later gave his sanction to the erection at the English College of the pictures and inscriptions referring to the English Martyrs, succeeded to St Pius V. on May 13, 1572. In the English Record Office there now lies a transcript (sent in recent years from Rome) of an address preserved in the Archives of the Vatican, which was presented to Pope Gregory, a few months after his election, by the chief English clergy living then in exile in Flanders.

The address to the Pope, which was dated Louvain, August 10, 1572, was accompanied by a letter to Cardinal Morone, the Cardinal Protector of England, signed by Dr Harding, whom St Pius had made Apostolic Delegate for England; Dr Allen, who only four years before had founded Douai College; Dr Stapleton, the famous controversialist and theologian; and ten other priests.

Dr Sander, the other Apostolic Delegate appointed by St Pius, was at the time in Rome itself, whither the saintly Pope had summoned him a little while before

his death, with the intention, as was thought by many, of making him a Cardinal. However, that his entire concurrence in the statements made in the address was known to its subscribers is shown by the fact that these, in their letter to Morone, refer the Cardinal for fuller information on the subject of it to Sander, the Bishop of St Asaph, and Dr Morton, all then resident in Rome.

The purpose of these—the most influential and respected of the English clergy then at liberty—in addressing themselves to the newly elected Pontiff, was to implore him to turn his thoughts to England, before it should be yet too late, and to take some measures for its rescue from its unhappy state of schism. Here we can do no more than translate such portions of their letter, as refer to the imprisoned Bishops, the severity of whose confinement makes it necessary, they say, for themselves to address the Pontiff in their place. It is to be hoped that it will not be long before this document in its entirety, along with others of almost equal interest, of which transcripts have been furnished from Rome to the Record Office, may be given to the public.

The petitioners begin with expressing their regret at being obliged to add to the sorrows of the Pontiff already oppressed with so many cares. Nevertheless, the danger of their country is, they say, so pressing, that, if not speedily assisted, utter ruin threatens it. The nature, therefore, of their office and position seems to make it necessary that they, who themselves are "Priests of God," should commend their country and their churches "to the Prince of Priests, the head of the whole Church."

"It rightfully belongs to the Bishops, we admit, to speak of this matter to your Holiness. But, oh the misfortune of our country! Of the whole number of the Bishops in it [*illic*], two alone are still alive. The rest of them have departed from this life, worn out by wearisome imprisonment, affliction of mind, and other grievous sufferings. So close, moreover, is the custody, in which are held

the two that still survive; and so capital a crime, in that kingdom, is it to hold even the least communication with the Roman Pontiff, that the sending of letters to Rome can hardly be even thought of without danger.[1] We, therefore, who for the sake of our religion are in exile in the Belgic dominions of the Catholic king, putting ourselves for the present moment in their place, and casting ourselves through the medium of these letters at your Holiness's feet, beg with all the humility and earnestness we can, in their name, in our own, and in that of our entire country, that amongst your other most weighty subjects of deliberation your Holiness will now take into consideration the miseries and bitter trials, into which that kingdom—not many years ago so flourishing—has been plunged by the violence and fraud of heretics."

After speaking of the desolate condition of the English Catholics, left "without Prince, leader, or Prophet, and with neither holocaust, sacrifice, nor oblation," the petitioners went on to assure the Holy Father that a vast number even of those, who through fear conformed to the new services, were still Catholics at heart, and longed for the restoration of the old religion. They declared their own strong hope that England might yet be reclaimed, whilst leaving it entirely to his Holiness's wisdom to suggest the means.

The following are the signatures of the petitioners, attached to the accompanying letter to Cardinal Morone, in which they request him to present the above address to the Holy Father:—

"Thomas Hardingus, Guilelmus Allenus, Ricardus Hallus, Thomas Stapletonus, Henricus Joliffus, Ægidius

[1] "Episcoporum erat, fatemur, de hoc cum tua Sanctitate agere. Sed, O patriæ nostræ calamitatem! ex omni illic Episcoporum numero, duo tantum superstites sunt. Reliqui carceris tædio, animorum mærore, aliisque magnis incommoditatibus fracti, vita functi sunt. Superstites autem illi duo, tam arcta custodia detinentur, et tam capitalis in eo regno vel minima cum Romano Pontifice rerum tractatio est, ut de literis Romam mittendis etiam cogitare vix tutum sit."

Capellus, Gilbertus Burnfordus, Guilhelmus Tailerus, Thomas Hidus, Thomas Baleius, Laurentius Webbus, Edmundus Hargatus, Carolus Parkerus."[1]

To us the most interesting of the above signatures is naturally that of Dr William Allen, which stands second in the list. Allen's intimate connection with the erection later of the English College pictures, and the large share he had in determining the subjects of them, has been dwelt upon already; but it certainly adds very greatly to the significance of the picture and inscription commemorative of the Eleven Bishops, to find him already in 1572 signing, with reference to the ten of them then dead, this declaration so precisely similar in purport to be laid before the Sovereign Pontiff.

Considering, indeed, both the circumstances, under which this address was presented to Pope Gregory XIII., and the high character and influence of the men that signed it, it is difficult to estimate too highly the importance of its declaration both as to the sufferings by which the deaths of the imprisoned Bishops had been caused, and as to the continued confinement of the two survivors. It is of great value too, as showing how pointedly the fact of the Bishops' death for the faith in prison had been brought under the notice of Pope Gregory, long before the English College pictures had been thought of. Nor must we fail to notice the direct contradiction given by it both to the story of their kindly treatment, which Cox and Parker had then just inserted into Bullinger's answer to St Pius, and to the later lies of Burghley.

In this same connection, it will not be out of place to mention here another, and an independent, testimony to the sanctity and the heroic constancy of the imprisoned English Bishops, which was published at Rome itself a few years later, in a work dedicated to the same Pope Gregory XIII. by John Leslie, the Scottish Bishop of Ross, who, as the ambassador of Mary, Queen of Scots,

[1] R. O. Bliss Roman Transcripts, vol. 71. Archivio Vaticano, Arm. lxii. 33.

in England, had been himself to some extent a witness and a sharer of their sufferings. After being kept for several years in prison by Elizabeth,[1] Bishop Leslie had been allowed, in the January of 1574, to go to France, and from thence to Rome, where, in 1578, he brought out the work from which the following is translated:—

"A few months after [Elizabeth's accession], in as much as nothing could persuade them to withdraw from sacred communion with the Church, nor by any act of schism to violate the obedience due to the Church of Rome, all the Catholic Bishops were punished with imprisonment, or exile, and with loss of goods. The rest of the clergy—including some Doctors highly distinguished for their learning in Theology and Law—who refused to submit, and so to involve themselves in schism and heresy, or more truly in apostasy, suffered penalties of the same kind. But it must be honestly confessed that however foul the stain with which the sectaries have besmeared their England, once so religious, it has been at least to some extent wiped off and removed by these most holy Bishops and other venerable Priests of God; who, in their imprisonment, borne by them now for eighteen years, in their exile, or at least by their blessed deaths, have all of them displayed the same perfect agreement and inviolable constancy in the true faith. For though, throughout the Catholic Church, that impiety of the English heretics has been indeed condemned as an enormity, nevertheless this *piety* of the English Catholics in bearing witness to the holiness of the Catholic religion by exile, imprisonment, and the shedding even of their blood, is even more deserving of being proclaimed and extolled by all good men, as a grace instilled and approved by heaven, and of being set down to the credit of the nation itself."[2]

[1] Bishop Leslie had been in the Tower from October 24, 1571, till the May of 1572; besides having been at different times, before or after, imprisoned in the houses of Grindal, Cox, and Horne (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

[2] *De Origine, Moribus, et Rebus Gestis Scotorum*, p. 500, ed. 1675.

Some seventy years later, this self-same testimony to the constancy of the Bishops and Priests imprisoned by Elizabeth, which Bishop Leslie had addressed to Pope Gregory XIII., was quoted to Pope Innocent X. by Bishop Richard Smith of Chalcedon, the second Vicar Apostolic of all England,[1] who added the remark that it was the more worthy of attention from the fact of its having been the testimony of one hostile to the English race.

The following account of the secrecy, which was observed at all times with reference to the unhappy beings imprisoned in the Tower, will make it easier to understand the fewness of the particulars which have reached us regarding those of our Eleven, who, like Bishops Pate and Turberville, breathed forth their souls within the Tower walls. It is from a little book about the persecution, which Fr. Persons first published at Bologna in 1581.

"I pass over," he there says, "the other things done and suffered in this Tower of London, which, though many and most grievous, are not able to be fully known to us, on account of the extreme severity with which they suppress any revelation on the part of those without, and any lamentation on the part of those that suffer. Our adversaries, in fact, take especial pains to prevent the cruelties there secretly inflicted from becoming known abroad, and try rather to ensure their being buried in obscurity and darkness, and concealed from view by the dense gloom of its dungeons. And if sometimes, in spite of their endeavours, things do come to light, and the wail of the poor sufferers is overheard, they are tremendously offended, and either deny what has been done, or pass it over with some joke."[2]

[1] In the dedication to Pope Innocent X. of his "*Flores Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Gentis Anglorum*, 1654."

[2] *De Persecutione Anglicana*, p. 43. Roman ed. 1582.

CHAPTER XVIII

ARCHBISHOP HEATH OF YORK, AND THE FALSE HISTORY OF HIS END CREATED BY LORD BURGHLEY. MISREPRESENTATIONS OF CAMDEN, STRYPE, AND OTHERS, AS TO HIS RESIDENCE AT CHOBHAM. TESTIMONIES TO THE UNBROKEN CONTINUANCE OF HIS CONFINEMENT

We have now to trace the remaining history of the venerable Archbishop Heath of York, who was the last of the Eleven Bishops of the Roman pictures; and who, after the year 1570, was left alone with Bishop Watson to represent in England the true and ancient hierarchy.

The integrity and gentleness of the good Archbishop Heath were such as to lead his very enemies to speak of him with respect. Nevertheless, since his invincible fidelity to his religion stood in the way of the impious and heartless policy of Elizabeth and Cecil — afterwards Lord Burghley—he was sentenced by them to wear out his old age to the end in prison; although the latter tried but too successfully to hide the violence which had been really used upon him, by hypocritically speaking of him to his praise.

Historians, it has been remarked by Father Bridgett, "have all followed the lead of Lord Burghley," and have made Heath "the pet specimen of Elizabeth's clemency."[1] It seems necessary, therefore, here to put Burghley's words in full before the reader, although they have been in part already quoted.

In his *Execution of Justice*, we find him speaking

[1] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 108.

thus of the Archbishop: Among the "many subjects known in the realm, that differ in some opinions of religion from the Church of England," though without being "prosecuted or charged with any crimes or pains of treason, . . . the first and chiefest by office was D. Heath, that was Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor of England in Queen Mary's time, who, at the first coming of her Majesty to the crown, showing himself a faithful and quiet subject, continued in both the said offices, though in religion then manifestly differing, and yet was he not restrained of his liberty, nor deprived of his proper lands and goods, but leaving willingly both his offices, lived in his own house very discreetly, and enjoyed all his purchased lands during all his natural life, until by very age he departed this world, and then left his house and living to his friends, an example of gentleness never matched in Queen Mary's time."[1]

The Tract in which this flagrantly untrue account of Heath's last years was given, was published by Burghley, in the December of 1583, for the purpose of quelling, if possible, the storm of indignation which Elizabeth's persecution of her Catholic subjects had then excited on the continent; no less than fifteen priests having been barbarously put to death within the previous two years, for no other cause than their religion. In this pamphlet Burghley vainly tried to show that the recent Martyrs had been executed, not for their religion, but for treason; and he took advantage of the fact that, at the beginning of her reign, the Queen had not acted in the same way to the Catholic Bishops; most falsely declaring that these had not even suffered any persecution.

Quotations have been already given from the calm and powerful reply put forth at the time by Dr Allen. In this he bade the "Libeller" (as he called the writer of the Tract, which had appeared anonymously) "not to extol the equity and mercy used in her Majesty's regiment to certain of the old principal clergy, because they put them not to death, as they have done others since; . . . which in good

[1] *Somers' Tracts*, vol. i., p. 192.

sooth was no other than, instead of a present quick despatch on gibbet, to allow them a long and miserable life, or rather a lingering and languishing death in durance, desolation, and disgrace." . . . "Whatsoever it was," he continued, "that moved them not to put such to present death, as they have done some of the younger sort afterward; no difference of cause there was, the latter sort being indeed no more traitorous, or disloyal, than the former. . . . At the first entrance of heresy [under Elizabeth] they had all the principal clergy and divers chief Catholics in prisons, or places at commandment, where they could not exercise their functions; and, being ancient men most of them, they knew they could not live long; whereof divers having been in high offices hard before had showed pleasures to some Protestants that should have else suffered for their heresies or treasons in Queen Mary's days, who now by saving some of the said Bishops' lives, thought to requite their courtesies in part. They little thought that, these old holy Confessors being worn out by years and imprisonment, a new generation would rise to defend their old Bishops' and Fathers' faith. Wherein perceiving now, after twenty-five years struggling against God's Church, all their human counsels to be frustrate, and that they can have no rest in their heresy, nor security of their state, depending, as they think, thereupon; they are now in greater fury and rage towards us, making challenge for our ancestors' faith, than they were with the said holy Bishops; though, to say truth, in respect of the others' high calling and unction to degrade only and imprison one of them, was a greater punishment than twenty deaths to us; being to them but punies, and their pupils, and most obedient children of their pastoral dignity."[1]

How different had really been the treatment experienced by the deposed Bishops from that described of Heath by Burghley, can be seen sufficiently from Dr Allen's frequent

[1] True, Sincere, and Modest Defence of English Catholics that suffer for their Faith, both at home and abroad, against a false, seditious, and slanderous Libel, entitled: *The Execution of Justice in England*, 1584, pp. 42 and 43.

allusions, in his answer, to the "languishing death in durance, in prisons, or places at commandment," by which "*all the principal clergy had been worn out.*" Elsewhere, too, in the same reply, he speaks of "the chief Prelates, Bishops, and others," as "*all thrust into prisons*," or "forced into banishment, till by manifold and long miseries they be almost all wasted and worn away."[1] As a matter of fact, when he wrote the above, the only Bishops yet alive were Bishop Watson, then confined in Wisbeach Castle, and Bishop Goldwell in exile at Rome.

With reference, moreover, to the Archbishop of York in particular, Dr Allen takes notice, as follows, of some of the assertions made by Burghley. "This Libeller hypocritically commendeth [the Archbishop] for his loyalty, though in religion differing from them. . . . And further he addeth—which is a notorious untruth—that the said Prelate voluntarily left both his Chancellorship and Archbishopric; when all wise men will witness with him and for him, that he was most unjustly, with the rest of his suffragans and brethren Bishops, for refusing to take that absurd oath of the Queen's supremacy, and to use the new Calvinistical service in his province, deposed from his spiritual function and dignity."[2]

Sufficient has been said already of the shameless falsehood of Burghley's assertion that Archbishop Heath had "not been restrained of his liberty," contradicted as it is by his own letters to the Lieutenant of the Tower, and by Resolutions of the Council made when he himself was present.

Nevertheless, it was precisely this untrue account of Archbishop Heath's later days, as given in Lord Burghley's *Execution of Justice*, that was taken as the basis of their own, both by Andrewes[3] and by Camden; from whom it

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 171. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

[3] It is instructive, in the case of Andrewes, to note how, whilst almost repeating Burghley's words, he has contrived to amplify and emphasise each one of his false statements. The following is from his *Tortura Torti* of 1609, p. 146. "N. Hethus . . . Archiepiscopus Eboracensis, qui honorifice semper a Regina habitus est, nec unquam

has been copied by a host of later writers such as Strype and others, who from it have painted fancy pictures of the pleasant ease in which the deprived Prelate closed his life —smiled on, and even visited (according to Camden) by his kindly sovereign.

We have now to show from other sources the groundlessness of the tradition made current by such writers. Before doing so, however, we must first take notice of an incident which till now apparently has escaped attention, but which gives us a momentary glimpse of the deprived Archbishop in the November of the year 1566; though without telling us all that we should like to know regarding his condition at that time.

The incident in question is revealed by certain papers at the Record Office, concerning the right of collation to one of the York Prebends called Wetwang. The right to appoint to this particular Prebend in York Minster seems, in virtue of an alleged grant from Cardinal Wolsey, to have been claimed in 1566 by the Dean of "King Henry VIII.'s College in Oxford"; and the deposed Archbishop was then required to give evidence upon the question before the Queen's Remembrancer, Henry Fanshawe.

The papers consist of:—

1st. A writ, *Dedimus potestatem*, from the Queen, giving to her Remembrancer full power and authority to examine "our beloved Nicholas Heath, Professor of Sacred Theology," to be summoned before him "in our city of London, or in the borough of Southwark in the county of Surrey," and dated November the 16th, "the last day of the seventh year of our reign." The writ directs that a report of the whole proceeding and of Heath's examination is to be laid before the Barons of the Exchequer at Westminster on the ensuing November the 19th.

2nd. The "Interrogatories" (six in number and in

ulla custodia detentus, non fortunarum ulla parte exutus, permissus semper rure suo vivere, et cum ad multam ætatem in otio, vixisset, testamento etiam hæredes scribere." In this Andrewes, just like Burghley, wrote simply as the apologist of the Elizabethan persecution.

English) "to be demanded of Mr Doctor Heath, late Archbishop of York, concerning the Prebend of Wetwang."

3rd. The "Depositions of Mr Nicholas Heath, Doctor of Divinity, late Archbishop of York, taken at his lodging in Southwark in the county of Surrey, the 17th day of November, in the 8th year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth, . . . before Henry Fanshawe, Esquire, her Grace's Remembrancer in her Court of Exchequer."

These three papers apparently contain all that can now be learnt about the matter; but it would seem to have been rather in the interest of the Crown than in that of the Dean of Christ Church, that the opinion of the deprived Archbishop was solicited upon the question. At all events, we find it recorded that, on the death in 1569 of Roger de Askham, who held the Prebend of Wetwang at the time of this dispute, a certain Robert Dudley was presented to it by the Queen's favourite the Earl of Leicester.[1] Askham himself had received the Prebend on the deprivation of the excellent George Palmes, a Confessor of the faith, who seems, at the time we speak of, to have been still in prison for his refusal of the oath. We have already seen him mentioned in connection with the trial of Bishop Bonner, in the discontented letter addressed to the Queen on June the 23rd, 1565, by Young, the intruded Archbishop of York, to complain of the "remiss dealing of the judges and lawyers of King's Bench with Mr Bonner, late Bishop of London, and Dr Palmes." "People," wrote Young, "persuade themselves that you would not have such offenders punished."

That Archbishop Heath must then have been in a very weak and suffering condition seems sufficiently certain from the fact that, instead of his evidence being taken in the ordinary manner, a writ, *Dedimus potestatem*,[2] had had to be procured; and that he was examined,

[1] Willis's *Survey of Cathedrals*, vol. i., p. 176.

[2] The following definition of a writ, *Dedimus potestatem*, is given in Tomlins' *Law Dictionary*: "A writ or commission given to one or more private persons for the speeding some act appertaining to a

not in court, but "at his lodging in Southwark." It is disappointing that we are not told more clearly what was the nature of this latter. Of itself, of course, the term "lodging" might be correctly used even of a prison cell; and both the Marshalsea and the prison of King's Bench were in Southwark, nor is it impossible that to one or other of these, he may then have been taken from the Tower. At the same time, we shall see a little further on that, when it suited the purpose of his jailers, the Archbishop was, at all events on one occasion, allowed to go for a short time to a house in Southwark, which had been lent to him by Lord Montague; and this same house was perhaps the "lodging" to which he was brought in November 1566 (of course under safe securities), to give evidence, which apparently was favourable to the side supported by the Court.

It is impossible to read the Archbishop's direct and uncompromising answers to the questions put to him on this occasion, without being struck by his simple and transparent truthfulness, as also by the honest fearlessness with which he refers to the late Queen and Cardinal, whose names were hateful to the party then in power, and to the faithful Dr Palmes, now deprived, whom he had named to Wetwang. He deposed that "to whom the collation of the said Prebend now belongeth he knoweth not, because he knoweth not what conveyances and other assurances hath passed since he was Archbishop of the See of York; . . . but, for his own thinking, he supposeth the said Prebend of Wetwang not to be lawfully parcel of the possessions of the late King Henry the Eighth's College in Oxford." He himself conferred "the said Prebend two sundry times, . . . first unto one Mr Ryseley, who died being Prebendary thereof; and after his death, unto Doctor Palmes,[1] who yet liveth." . . . "He supposeth

judge, or some court: and it is granted most commonly upon suggestion that the party who is to do something before a judge, or in court, is so weak that he cannot travel."

[1] Dr Palmes is named in the list of Sufferers given in Sander's *De Visibili.*

verily that he was resolved by some of the late Queen's learned Counsel that he might lawfully and of right confer the Prebend, as Archbishop there," . . . and "that the Queen's Majesty that late was and the late Lord Cardinal Pole were both made privy thereunto, and were contented that he should give the same."[1]

With the giving of this evidence, the incident seems to have closed, as far as the good Archbishop was concerned; and it is not till more than four years later that we can find him again mentioned.

We have seen that, from the time of the re-committal of the Bishops in the June of 1565, the Tower was the general place of their confinement; and the absence of all further allusion to him, until the spring of 1571, justifies us in concluding that, during the interval, it was there that the Archbishop was chiefly kept imprisoned. It seems clear, at any rate, that, if any freedom had been during that time allowed him, we should have found some trace of it in books and papers of the period, especially during the commotions connected with the Northern Rising and the Queen's excommunication.

Instead of this, however, the first allusion to him after the Wetwang incident is found in a letter addressed to Bullinger of Zurich by the London merchant Hilles, dated "London, March 8, in the year of our salvation 1570, according to the computation of the Church of England": —that is to say, March the 8th, 1571, according to the present computation. In this letter, after informing Bullinger of the death of Bishop Thirlby in Parker's house at Lambeth, the writer thus continues:—

"Some of the other Bishops and Prelates, whose liberty had been restricted on account of their obstinacy, are still living; but they have suffered hardly any torture, except perhaps some sorrow of mind in consequence of their lost liberty and of the restraint put on their licence of speaking and of doing ill.[2] Of all these Nicholas Heath, who under

[1] R. O. Exchequer Depositions, York, No. 5, 7th and 8th Elizabeth.

[2] "Refrænatam licentiam maledicendi et malefaciendi."

Queen Mary was Archbishop of York, was the least cruel, and perhaps for this reason he has found greater favour with our most gracious Queen Elizabeth; for *he has no other prison than his own house in the country*, which is sufficiently commodious, and situated in a healthy place."[1]

This letter contains the earliest allusion to that residence for a time of Heath at Chobham, of which Burghley took advantage later to create the fiction of his pleasant life in his own house. Though Hilles here dishonestly omits all mention of the Archbishop's detention till then in the Tower, he does at any rate admit that his house in the country had been made *his prison;* whereas Burghley shamelessly described him as living in it in entire freedom.

The locality of the country house in question is made certain from documents of the time itself (which will be more fully quoted shortly), in which it is designated Chobham Park, being situated either in or near to Chobham village in Surrey county. For we not only have a letter of Archbishop Heath himself, dated in 1573 "from Chobham."; but in a report made to the Council, in 1577, of the lands and goods of the "Recusants" of Surrey, we find the following: "Chobham, Doctor Heath, priest. Other lands or goods to maintain himself withal than Chobham Park we know not." Camden also speaks of the Archbishop in his *Annals*, as having "lived for many years in Surrey *in suo Chobhamiæ prædiolo* Deo et bonis studiis securus." How far he lived there *in security*, at all events in the sense meant to be understood by Camden, the following narrative will show. The royal historiographer goes on to assert, however — what writer after writer has repeated without question from his pages—that the deposed Archbishop "was held in such favour by the Queen that she visited him from time to time with wondrous kindness."[2]

[1] "Nullam enim aliam [*sic*] *habet* carcerem præterquam in rure proprias ædes." In the Parker Society translation *habet* is wrongly translated by the perfect—"he *had* no other prison." (*Zurich Letters*, 2nd series, Ep. 73.)

[2] "Ut eum subinde mira comitate inviserit" (*Annales*, 1615, p. 36).

No hint of these visits of Elizabeth to the captive Prelate is to be found in the previous writings either of Burghley or of Andrewes, although it would have served their purpose to have mentioned them; and no one seems yet to have noticed that in reality the story rests solely on the word of Camden, who in this matter wrote simply as a partisan. It is worth noticing, moreover, that, although the greatest pains were taken by Mr Nichols to collect materials for his *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, which he brought out finally in 1823, after labouring (as he says in his preface) for nearly forty years, with free access to State Papers; all, nevertheless, which he could find to say as to these alleged visits of the Queen to Chobham, was that "Camden notices them";[1] nor, since he wrote, does anything fresh seem to have been brought to light.

At the same time, considering how much Elizabeth must have at times resided in that neighbourhood, even if it could be shown that she sometimes paid Heath a passing visit, this by itself would be no proof that he lived at Chobham as other than a prisoner.

In nearly every persecution there have been times of less severity, in which some breathing space has been permitted to the sufferers, before the storm broke out afresh; and now that Heath and Watson were the only Bishops left alive in England, their persecutors may easily have thought that without danger to themselves they might somewhat relax the severity of their confinement.

It is well known that at this very time the Duke of Norfolk was imprisoned for a whole year in his own house in the keeping of Sir Henry Neville; having been removed thither from the Tower in the August of 1570, as we saw, by order of the Queen, for fear of the infection of the plague.

Like instances, at all events a few years later, of Catholic prisoners allowed for a time to live outside their prisons in the charge of keepers, are told in the auto-

[1] It is true that one of the Queen's alleged visits to Chobham is assigned by Nichols to the year 1566; but with reference to no authority, and evidently on mere conjecture.

biography of Father Weston, S.J.;[1] and in a similar manner, towards the spring of 1571, our Archbishop appears to have been suffered to retire under custody to the little property at Chobham left to him seemingly by some relative.

In this fact alone—that for a certain time (though all the while a prisoner) the Archbishop was permitted to live in a house belonging to himself—we have the only true foundation for the story of the ease and comfort in which Heath's days were ended, which the unscrupulousness of Burghley and of others that have followed him has made traditional. Before going further, therefore, it will be well for us to notice one or two of the additions with which the story has been still further embellished in the hands of others.

In the same county, and about nine miles only to the east of Chobham, lies another village which bears the name of *Cobham;* and the similarity between the names of these two villages has been a fruitful cause of confusion amongst later writers as to the place of Heath's retirement; especially since Norton, who in 1635 translated Camden's Latin *Annals* into English, was unfortunate enough to render the words *in suo Chobhamiæ prædiolo* by "in his manor of Cobham"; thus naturally misleading those who made use of his translation of the latter's work.

Amongst later writers, few probably have done more to strengthen the false tradition than Strype, whose account of the delightful place in which he makes Heath to have spent his later years, has been accepted as if resting on authentic documents, when its only real foundation is Strype's blunder in supposing Cobham to be Chobham.

In his *Annals*, the first volume of which appeared in 1709, Strype had contented himself with saying of Archbishop Heath that: "After a little trouble" (in which "*little trouble*" was comprised his imprisonment during the previous eleven or twelve years) he lived "quietly

[1] Father Morris's *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, 2nd series, pp. 209, 219.

and nobly in his own lordship of Chobham, situate in Surrey."[1]

Here Strype names the place correctly, wisely abstaining at the same time from any description of the Archbishop's "*lordship*"; although by using that term he doubtless intended to convey the idea of some large estate administered by him in full freedom.

He returned, however, to the subject in his *Life of Parker*, written two years later; and in this—without noticing that it is a different place from Chobham—he speaks of Heath as having "gone to his seat at *Cobham* in Surrey, where he lived and died at full ease, quiet, and safety, and as handsomely as most gentlemen in England. For Cobham (according to a Particular of that Manor which I have seen among Sir Michael Hicks's[2] papers) was situate twenty miles from London, four[3] miles from Windsor, held in sockage. It contained five hundred acres of land, meadow, wood, and pasture. The wood and timber valued at eight hundred pounds. A fair house, garden, and orchard. The whole ground paled about. It was rented at £180 a year. The price of the purchase £8000. It was now Sir Francis Lee's;[4] formerly Mr Hethe's, the heir, I suppose, of Dr Hethe. This was that good man's easy retirement in his old age! And yet so ungrateful were the Papists of those times, that they were not only unsensible of this kind usage of their Bishops and chief Divines, but represented them in their ordinary discourses, and public prints, as miserable prisoners!"[5]

[1] *Annals*, vol. i., p. 144 (ed. 1709).

[2] Secretary to Lord Burghley. From Sir William Hicks, great grandson of Sir Michael, Strype had obtained a host of Tudor records, says the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, "in a very questionable way."

[3] Apparently a mistake for *fourteen*. The following are the respective distances of the two places from Windsor and from London:—Cobham, 14 miles from Windsor, 20 from London. Chobham, 9 miles from Windsor, 25 from London.

[4] A Sir Francis Leigh, or Lee, was Deputy-Lieutenant of Surrey in 1624.

[5] *Life of Parker*, 1711, p. 142.

With reference to Strype's last remark, as to the "easy retirement" of the good Archbishop, and the "ingratitude of the Papists," it is sufficient to point out that it rests solely on his own careless blunder in supposing the imprisoned Prelate's property at Chobham to have been the estate he had so glowingly described, which lay miles away from it at Cobham. It may be indeed that the "Mr Hethe" here spoken of by Strype as the former proprietor of the estate at Cobham, was some relative of the Archbishop's; but no ground can be shown for supposing the Archbishop himself to have ever owned that property, or to have left it to the person named by Strype.

ERRATUM

Page 376, line 22, *for* "£8000," *read* "£3000."

Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York. . . . At this house in Cobham [*sic*] Park was a consecrated chapel, used by this truly apostolical Archbishop until his death."[2]

These last words show how little Aubrey realised the state to which the deposed Archbishop had really been reduced, in spite of the sympathy they reveal. By way, however, of giving further information, Rawlinson, the editor of Aubrey, dovetailed into the above account of Heath what he found told of him in the passage above quoted from Strype's *Life of Parker*. Struck, however,

[1] Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, 1631, p. 512.

[2] Aubrey's "Perambulation" is embodied in *Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey*, edited by R. Rawlinson, 1719, vol. iii., pp. 199, 200.

by the evident inconsistency of the two accounts, he took care to add in a note—"Either Mr Strype or Mr Aubrey are *mistaken* in this place of Archbishop Hethe's retirement and sepulture." The documents already quoted clearly show that, in this, the error lies with Strype and not with Aubrey—the Archbishop's abode having been at Chobham, as the latter says correctly.

Nevertheless, there seems no doubt that Aubrey was himself mistaken in assuming Heath's residence at Chobham to have been the former manor house of Chertsey, which he supposes him to have bought from Mary. Such a transaction seems to be at variance both with Queen Mary's usual practice with reference to church property, and with what is recorded as to the history of this particular estate; and Aubrey, in all probability, had no other ground for his suggestion than Lord Burghley's worthless saying, as to the Archbishop's retention of his "*purchased*" lands.

It is indeed true that the name of Chobham Park, by which Heath's residence was known, is now given to the *quondam* Abbey manor; as it also seems to have been at the time that Aubrey wrote. But this name is not used of the Abbey manor in the ancient registers of Chertsey; and seems not to have been given to it, until (as Cromwell's notes record), Henry VIII. transformed the Abbey property into a *Park*.[1]

In connection also with this same Abbey manor, Aubrey himself informs us: "Here is a *small subordinate manor* possessed by Mr Cox." May it not be that this smaller manor, which apparently adjoined the other, was perhaps the original Chobham Park, the property of the Archbishop?

That the place called Chobham Park by Aubrey, and identified by him with the Archbishop's residence, was an extensive and imposing structure, is evident from many

[1] "Things done by the King's highness since I came to his service. . . . He purchased . . . the Manor and other lands in Chombham [*sic*], *where a park is made*, of the Abbot of Chertsey" (*Calendar, Henry VIII., Foreign and Domestic*, 1536, vol. x., p. 513).

sources. Thus Dugdale[1] quotes the ancient registers of Chertsey as recording that, in the year 1307, Abbot Rutherwyk "surrounded the manor of Chabham with a running stream"; and round the farm residence, which now occupies the site, the double moat can still be traced, which he constructed. Henry VIII. himself, after taking possession of it in 1536, sometimes resided there,[2] and, during his later years, the Acts of the Privy Council not unfrequently record meetings of it held at Chobham.

That, in Elizabeth's first year, it was still a royal residence, is shown by Bishop Tunstall's mention of it in his letter to Cecil of August 19, 1559, as one of the places at which the Queen was to stop, when he was vainly seeking to obtain an audience; and that it continued in the possession of the crown, as late even as the year 1618, is proved by James I.'s bestowal of it then upon Sir Edward Zouch, whom he had made Marshal of the Household.[3]

These facts are irreconcilable with Aubrey's supposition that this stately quondam manor house of Chertsey Abbey was the Chobham Park at which the poor deprived Archbishop lived, whose residence was probably of a much less pretentious character.

The truth is, moreover, that this supposed purchase of the Abbey land by the Archbishop is entirely unneeded to account for his possession of some property at Chobham;

[1] *Monasticon*, vol. i., p. 424.

[2] In 1538 Sir William Kingston wrote to Cromwell from "Chobham Court": "The King hath good pastime here, as merry as I ever did see his Grace (*Calendar, Henry VIII.*, July 16, 1538).

[3] The grant of Chobham to Sir E. Zouch by James I., with reversion to the Crown, was certified, on the petition of his grandson, by the Solicitor-General in 1695 (*Treasury Papers*, vol. xxxiii., May 20, 1695). Brayley and Briton try to reconcile the supposed sale of the place to Heath by Mary with the subsequent grant of it to Zouch by James I., by supposing Heath to have only bought *the house*, leaving "the manor and advowson" to the crown (*History of Surrey*, vol. ii., p. 159). For this they offer no authority, and absurdly blend together the conflicting statements both of Strype and Aubrey. They are even rash enough to name £3000 as the sum paid by Heath for Chobham (though they suppose him only to have bought the house), Strype having named that sum as the price of *Cobham*.

since there is evidence enough to show that, long before his time, land had been held there by his family, and that, too, whilst the Monks of Chertsey were still in possession of their Manor. For Aubrey himself makes mention of the broken brass of a certain "William Heith, Esquire, of Chabham," which he was shown at Chobham, and which may still be seen there; and of which, through the kindness of the present Vicar, a facsimile is here set before the reader.

As it exists at present, this brass is evidently but a fragment of the original monument of the Esquire, and consists only of an oblong plate measuring about sixteen inches in length, and three and a half in width; one end of it unfortunately being broken off, to the loss of the last letters of each line. All of these, however, except the missing letters of the date, can with little difficulty be supplied as follows:—

"Here lyeth buryed Willm Heith of Chabhm [in the] Countye of Surray Esquier who dyed y^{e} XIV d[ay of] November in the yere of our Lorde God M.CCC[C?]."

The brass itself retains initial traces [not shown in the photograph] of a fourth C in the date, thus proving it to be at least not earlier than the fifteenth century, with the style of which same century the lettering is pronounced by an expert to agree.

The same style, however, might perhaps have been also used in the earlier portion of the sixteenth century; nor does the use of C's for hundreds seem conclusively to prove it to be earlier than 1500; since (in books at all events) the use of five C's (instead of D) to express five hundred, was not for a time uncommon—though rare apparently after the year 1530. Early, however, in the sixteenth century the use of Roman numerals of any kind became very rare on brasses, and a style of lettering was also introduced, which was quite different from that of this inscription.[1]

It seems safe, therefore, to conclude that, under no circumstances can this brass of William Heath of Chobham

[1] See Boutell's *Monumental Brasses and Slabs*, 1847, p. 144.

Brass of William Heath of Chobham.

[*To face p.* 380.

be of later date than the reign of Henry VIII.; whilst in all probability it is a good deal older. It may thus be looked upon as proving satisfactorily that, long before the time of the Archbishop's residence in Chobham, property had been already held there by his family.

In what relationship the Archbishop stood to this William Heath, Esquire, we have of course no means of knowing; the date of the latter's death being so uncertain. There is apparently no trace remaining of the tomb from which the brass was torn, nor does there seem to have been any, even in the time of Aubrey; and the brass itself is now kept at Chobham, not in the Church but in the vicarage. In its original position it lay probably beneath an effigy of the Esquire; to which as usual in fifteenth century brasses, a second scroll most likely was attached, asking for prayers for his soul.

We may now resume our narrative of the sufferings and trials of Archbishop Heath's last years.

To see how utterly at variance was the tradition, handed down by the Catholics of the time itself, with the interested statements put forward by such partisans of the Elizabethan persecution as Lord Burghley, Andrewes, and the others, whose accounts we have been noticing; we cannot do better than turn to a Report which was laid before the Holy See, in the year 1612, by the Jesuit Fathers of the English Province, when the question of appointing a Bishop for England was under discussion.

The following passage in the Report, referring to the continued imprisonment of Archbishop Heath and Bishop Watson during the years when they were left the sole survivors of the ancient Hierarchy, is quoted in the Introduction to the *Douai Diaries*:—

"In England, when heresy broke in after Queen Mary's death, only one of the Bishops at that time alive, whose name was Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, and who was the last of all to die, lived on till about the year 1581,[1] Heath

[1] The years of the respective deaths of Archbishop Heath and Bishop Watson were really 1578 and 1584.

of York having died ten [*sic*] years before him; but, since *both of them were always detained either in prison, or in custody, as long as they lived*, they could not exercise any jurisdiction, and could no more help the Catholics than simple priests, excepting as regards a very few, whom they stealthily anointed with the holy chrism in the very prison."[1]

This important declaration seems to deserve all the more attention from the fact that, just three years before it was presented to the Holy See, Andrewes' *Tortura Torti* had appeared, in which he had so recklessly attempted to prove to Cardinal Bellarmine that no persecution had been inflicted by Elizabeth upon the Catholic Bishops, and least of all upon Archbishop Heath. It is true that in this document the time of the two Bishops' deaths is stated somewhat inexactly, but it unquestionably shows the tradition, which had been handed down from their own Catholic contemporaries, as to the continual imprisonment of both of them until their deaths.

With reference indeed to Bishop Watson, whose death took place in Wisbeach Castle within a year after the publication of Lord Burghley's *Execution of Justice*, this has never been disputed. So well known then, in fact, was his imprisonment, that even Burghley, who speaks of him as "yet living," did not venture to deny it; although he ungenerously tried to excite prejudice against him by accusing him of "sourness" of disposition—which in no case would have been just cause for imprisoning him.

We need then only concern ourselves with Archbishop Heath, of whose continued confinement till his death (although with occasional relaxation of severity), sufficient evidence is to be found in documents belonging to the time itself.

[1] *Douai Diaries*, edited by Fathers of the Oratory, 1878, intro., p. xxxiii. The document from which this is taken is headed: "Rationes ob quas præcipui Catholici creationi episcoporum adversantur." The MS. is in the Archives of the Old Brotherhood of the Secular Clergy (f. 2, 609), and is endorsed: "Præsens scriptum a

We saw that the earliest allusion to him, as residing in the country, is in Hilles' letter of March, 1571. There, in a house belonging to himself—though no doubt still in custody—he would naturally be much more at ease than in the Tower, and probably was able to find opportunities at times of communicating with his fellow-Catholics.

Still it must not be forgotten that in that letter Hilles himself speaks of the Archbishop's own house as "*his prison*"; whilst Sander, whose list of sufferers in his *De Visibili* was drawn up about that same time, describes him in it as "still kept in confinement."[1] We have seen, moreover, how in the August of the following year 1572, Harding, Allen, and the other petitioners of Pope Gregory XIII., all joined in declaring to the Pontiff that both he and the other Bishop, then surviving, were "detained in such close custody" as to make communication between them and the Holy See impossible. These eminent ecclesiastics cannot be supposed to have thus written to the Holy Father, without having made sure of the facts they stated. Yet, it is quite clear that they had no notion that the Archbishop, who must then have been for more than a year at Chobham, was at all less strictly kept than Bishop Watson, who at that time was still imprisoned either in the Tower or the Marshalsea.[2]

From the last named prison the Bishop of Lincoln was permitted, on July 5, 1574, to go for a time to his brother's house in London. The terms, on which this was conceded to him, are preserved in the Privy Council's Acts. On being delivered to his brother, John Watson, he was "to remain with him at his house, and not to depart from thence at any time without the license of the Lords of the Council; nor that any person shall resort to the said Doctor Watson any time other than such as shall have occasion to resort to the said John Watson."[3]

Jesuitis conceptum et Romæ clam exhibitum est Congregationi S. Officii anno 1612."

[1] "Adhuc in custodia detentus."

[2] Father Bridgett, *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 174.

[3] Acts of Privy Council, July 5, 1574. It is needless to say, that for this concession heavy securities had to be found by the Bishop.

Since there is no reason to suppose that the terms granted to the Archbishop at Chobham were more favourable, we can judge from this how little real liberty he can have there enjoyed.

Moreover, it is very evident that, although they probably enjoyed some brief intervals of comparative relaxation, events were constantly occurring which must have made it impossible for either Prelate to have been long left free from molestation.

Thus, a few days only after the date of the above letter from Harding and the other exiles to Pope Gregory XIII., took place, on August 24, the French massacre of St Bartholomew ; and in the outbreak of fury, to which the news of it gave rise in England, it seems practically certain that the poor Archbishop was sent back to the Tower.

"The Queen's Council," writes Strype in his *Life of Parker*, "were so alarmed by that massacre . . . that in September, a letter came from them to the Archbishop [Parker], and other Commissioners of ecclesiastical causes, willing them to look substantially to their charge. Whereupon commandment was given by them to all keepers of prisons about London and elsewhere to keep in strait custody all such as lay for those causes; and such as were before bailed upon great suits under bond to appear by a certain day, were now revoked before the time, and *put into close and strict custody*. Many others also, suspected of religion not agreeable to the State, were committed to close prison, of both sexes, over all the realm, to no small numbers."[1]

The accuracy of this account of Strype's, as to the severity with which the Catholic prisoners were confined at this time, is confirmed by the following from a Letter of Intelligence sent from London to the Duke of Alba on September 20: "All the Catholics, clerical and lay, *have been sent back to their prisons*."[2] There seems therefore no room to doubt that during this time of pretended panic

[1] *Life of Parker*, p. 354.
[2] *Spanish Calendar*, September 20, 1572.

the Archbishop of York was remanded to the Tower, although we shall find him again at Chobham a year later.

Indeed, in the first outbreak of popular excitement, even the lives of himself and Bishop Watson seem to have been in danger; since, if we may trust another letter sent from London to the Duke of Alba on September 8, their execution was demanded by the Protestant Bishops from the Queen. "When the news of the destruction in Paris was known," wrote Alba's informant, "the Bishops went to the Queen and represented to her that, to prevent disturbances in this country, the Bishops and other clergy now imprisoned *should be executed*, which the Queen refused to order."[1]

We have seen the efforts, made some years before by Parker, Horne, and Grindal, to obtain the death of Bishop Bonner; and there is no great difficulty in believing that a like attempt was made in 1572, against the two survivors of the ancient hierarchy by some of the intruded Prelates; who, at all events with reference to the imprisoned Queen of Scots, were not ashamed at this very time to clamour for her execution. Thus, Lingard, from the *Historical Letters* of Sir Henry Ellis, quotes a letter of September 5 by Sandys, Bishop of London, advising "furthwith to cutte off the Scottish quene's heade."[2] Parker, also, on the following September 16, wrote to Burghley to the same effect, although expressing himself more guardedly: "If that only desperate person were away, as by justice soon it might be, the Queen's Majesty's good subjects would be in better hope, and the Papists' daily expectation vanquished."[3]

At times like this, when the palm of martyrdom must have seemed to the deposed Archbishop almost within his grasp, it is easy to see how closely he is sure to have been kept confined, whether lodged in his own house at Chobham, or in the Tower.

[1] *Spanish Calendar*, September 8, 1572.
[2] *History of England*, ed. 1883, vol. vi., p. 282.
[3] *Parker Correspondence*, p. 398.

CHAPTER XIX

THE TREATISE OF TREASONS AND ITS CHARGES AGAINST BURGHLEY. ARCHBISHOP HEATH INTERROGATED. DENUNCIATION OF HIS MASS AT CHOBHAM. AGAIN QUESTIONED AND IMPRISONED. HIS DEATH IN THE TOWER ATTESTED BY THE TRADITION OF HIS FAMILY. TRADITION AS TO HIS BURIAL AT CHOBHAM

THE excitement occasioned by the massacre of St Bartholomew seems, at all events in part, to have subsided before the end of the same year; for we find the Duke of Alba's London correspondent writing to him on the 22nd of December 1572: "There are signs that they are likely to release the rest of the Catholics who are in prison for religion's sake, as the Treasurer and others were conferring with them in the Tower for a long time the other day."[1]

It may perhaps have been about this time that Archbishop Heath was allowed once more to leave the Tower, since we know that in the September of the next year, 1573, he was again at Chobham.

The next mention of him, which as yet has come to light, was connected with the appearance on the continent in 1573, of the book entitled *A Treatise of Treasons against Queen Elizabeth*[2]—brought out by some of the English

[1] *Spanish Calendar*, December 22, 1572.

[2] *A Treatise of Treasons against Queen Elizabeth and the Crowne of England.* Imprinted in the moneth of Januarie, and in the yeare of our Lord MDLXXII. (New Style, 1573).

exiles—in which was made a pointed allusion to the Archbishop's enforced resignation of the Chancellorship.

The writer of this brilliant little book fearlessly undertook to show that the real traitors to Elizabeth were not the poor persecuted Catholics, but her own chief ministers, Lord Burghley, and Sir Nicholas Bacon his chief confidant. These were represented in it as having, for the sake of their own selfish interests, persuaded her to change the religion of the country; and as having thereby, not only robbed her of the services of all the old nobility, and of the friendship of her natural allies, but brought upon her also the excommunication of the Pope, and the contempt and hatred of all Catholic nations. Besides this, it accused the same two ministers of deliberately trying to deter the Queen from marrying, in the hope of bringing the succession into the House of Suffolk, with which they had taken care to ally themselves by marriage.

Its contents were thus summarised by Bacon, the Lord Keeper, in a letter to Lord Burghley, to whom on the 25th of August he forwarded a copy of the book which had been put into his hands. "The effect of it consisteth in three points. Chiefly it is (to) change the religion that now is; the second to establish the Scottish Queen's party; the third is *an invective against us two*."[1]

Great though was the influence of Lord Burghley with the Queen, it was no easy thing to tell how charges such as these against him might not work upon her jealous mind; and a "Proclamation against Seditious Books and Libels" put forth by the Council on the following September 28,[2] as well as his own continued efforts through his agents on the continent, to discover the author of the *Treatise*, bore witness to the great uneasiness he felt.

A few quotations from the book itself will best help the reader to realise the vexation which it must have caused to Cecil; and he will not fail to note its striking testimony

[1] Letter of the Lord Keeper to Lord Burghley, August 25, 1573 (Hist. MSS. Com. MSS. of Lord Salisbury).

[2] Printed in Strype's *Life of Parker*, p. 444, 3rd.

to the continual confinement of the Bishops and to their death in consequence.

"When your Queen, therefore, upon the first entry into her reign, had committed the government of her affairs unto some few mean and base persons, who forthwith used those few of the nobility, whom they reserved in appearance of credit, but as ciphers and signs; who by slight devices and false persuasions did win her by the change of religion against her own affection, to separate herself from the union she was, in that part, left in with the great Christian princes her neighbours and allies; who persuaded her to change all the Council and chief officers of the realm; who induced her to deprive and depose together and at once all her Bishops one and other, with hundreds of the principal of the clergy besides; to *hold their persons in prison ten or twelve years together*,[1] *till by stink and close keeping, some sooner, some later, they are all in effect*[2] *pined away*, without colour of fault or desert, unless you account it a fault for a whole clergy of a Christian realm not to accept a new faith with the change of every prince; to subvert all the altars in her realm, to burn all the relics, images, and holy ornaments of Christ and His saints; to constitute a new form of public service in the church; to create herself chief ruler of the same, and by that authority to prohibit the adoration of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament; to abrogate the Mass with five of the seven Sacraments; to change the form of the administration of the other two; of the dregs of the vilest sort of the people to erect a new clergy, and to them to give the cure of souls, with all the Bishoprics and principal spiritual promotions of the realm; to permit them to marry, and with the goods of the Church so to enrich them, as with great endowments bestowed on their bastards, to disparage, in short time, all the noble houses of the realm; to intrude them into the possessions of all the

[1] In reality the two Bishops then surviving had been *more* than twelve years in prison. Though not published until 1573, the book seems to have been *written* about 1571. In it the Duke of Norfolk, who was executed on June 2, 1572, is always mentioned as still living.

[2] *I.e.*, almost all of them.

monasteries and sacred foundations of prayer or alms; to cast out of the realm all the religious of the same that would live in their order and habit," etc. (ff. 27 and 28).

It is indeed no wonder if Lord Burghley—who mainly was responsible for the measures here so tellingly denounced—cringed under language such as the above, the justice of which no one knew better than himself; and indeed, a study of the little book, from which the passage comes, might well be recommended at the present day to those who seek so strangely to delude themselves and others with the preposterous contention that the religion set up by Elizabeth and Cecil is one and continuous with that into the place of which it was intruded.

Though it would be easy to multiply such quotations, we must here confine our attention to an allusion made in this same *Treatise of Treasons* to Archbishop Heath; whom it accused Lord Burghley of having driven from the Chancellorship—in spite of his great merits—in order to make room for the advancement of Nicholas Bacon, his own unfit confederate.

"The Queen," wrote the author of the *Treatise*, "being in this manner freely entered, and quietly possessed in her seat by the death of her sister [Mary], the chief of these two Machiavellians, then of mean state and out of credit, whose ambition endured not to abide the time of her calling, intruded himself by preoccupation into her presence and service some few days before the death of her sister; and—to win credit of wisdom—suggested unto her certain false fears and colourless suspicions against the chief of her sister's Council, and thereby obtained favour. And—finding that he had a young lady in hand that was unexpert in matters of State, of a deep wit, and timorous nature, and thereby easily made suspicious, soon circumvented by them that could cunningly abuse her, and conformable to them that she trusted and that promised with security her ease and disburdening of the care of her weighty affairs;—he induced forthwith a confederate of his own, by birth more base than himself, nearly yet allied

unto him, and in heresy more fervent than he, into such credit and confidence at first, that forthwith *was removed the most upright and incorrupt judge of Europe*, to advance this second Sinon,[1] the most known briber of all the Isle of Britain, to give him the chief place and dignity of that realm under herself" (ff. 86-87).

As to the truth of the charge here brought against Lord Burghley, of having prejudiced Elizabeth at the beginning of her reign against her sister's former Councillors, there can be little doubt. Well knowing, however, how eagerly Archbishop Heath had laid down the Chancellorship on the first day after her accession; and sure too that—in spite of the long persecution he had suffered—he would again, if asked about it, affirm his then eagerness to be relieved of office; Burghley now wrote to demand from his venerable prisoner an account of his recollections of the business; without apparently explaining why he did so; and at the same time (as the Archbishop's answer seems to show) directing him to come to London in readiness to answer further questions.

The two letters which follow were first published from their originals in the Record Office and the British Museum, by Father Bridgett; who, however, not having seen the *Treatise of Treasons*, was obliged to confess himself unable to understand the reason of them.[2] The spelling of them is here modernised. The first of them is endorsed in Burghley's own hand:

"22 September 1573. Doctor Heth from Chobham.[3]

"Sir,—For your most gentle and loving letter, I have great cause both to honour you and thank you. And concerning the matter thereof, your Lordship wisely considereth, as the truth is, that for the space of so many years having abandoned myself utterly from all meddling

[1] The writer of *The Treatise* compares both Cecil and Bacon to the treacherous Greek Sinon, by whose advice the wooden horse was taken into Troy.

[2] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 108.

[3] *R. O. Domestic Elizabeth*, vol. xcii., No. 28.

or minding of worldly things, and my memory also being very much decayed, it is very hard for me to remember things so many years past. And being in mine own conscience very scrupulous to say any untruth, will nevertheless, as I possibly can remember myself of the matters you write of, and by God's grace never say but the truth as near as I can. And your Lordship may be assured that, if I shall be examined of anything touching the matter written by you, I will answer without any corrupt mind, or any evil affection towards your Lordship, and nothing but the very truth as near as the grace of God and my simple memory can serve me, putting away all respect to the world or any worldly person. And further, upon the contents of your letter, I mind to repair to London either to-morrow, or on Thursday, where I may by mouth make further declaration, either to any that your Lordship shall send, or to any other that shall with any authority have any conference with me of the matter. For I assure your honourable Lordship that it is a great grief and a rare thing for me to write two lines with mine own hand, as this is. And thus, as your Lordship's poor loving friend, if it be decent for me so to term myself towards your Lordship, and as one that never could perceive by any of your dealing the contrary in you towards me, by reason whereof, and by the gracious favour of the Queen's Majesty through the mediation of my singular good Lord of Leicester, I have lived these many years in great quietness of mind to my singular comfort. I commend your Lordship to Almighty God. From Chobham, this 22nd of September. Your Lordship's to his little power.

"NICO. HEYTH."

The Archbishop's expression here of his indebtedness to the Earl of Leicester reminds us of the words of Cardinal Allen, already quoted in this chapter, in which he refers to some of the deposed Prelates (of whom Heath was evidently one), who, "having been in high offices hard before, had showed pleasures to some Protestants that should have else suffered for their heresies or treasons in

Queen Mary's days"; and whose lives had been saved by these in requital, though only to go through "a long and lingering death in durance." Leicester himself was one of those who, for his share in the conspiracy of his father, the Duke of Northumberland, had incurred sentence of death at the beginning of Queen Mary's reign; and it would seem, from the above words of Allen, that Archbishop Heath, by whom Northumberland had been prepared for his last passage, had interceded for his son. That Leicester himself, when he thought that he could safely manifest it, did not conceal his high esteem for the Archbishop, is shown by the following from a letter addressed to him in 1561 by Bishop Quadra: "Your Lordship told me yourself that you were a great friend of the Archbishop of York, who is in prison; and that you would thank me much if I would try to gain for him the good opinion of the Catholics whom I knew."[1]

Similarly we find Quadra's successor, Guzman de Silva, thus reporting to the King in 1564, an interview that he had had with Leicester at the time of Bishop Bonner's trial: "I reminded him that the Catholics trusted in the Queen and him, as I believed *the Bishops and others owed their lives to him*, and that he was greatly esteemed by Catholic princes in consequence."[2]

It was then perhaps through Leicester's intercession that the Archbishop had been allowed to remove to Chobham from the Tower.

As to the nature of the communication which he had received from Burghley, we can only gather it from his reply; but from this the tone of it would seem to have been not unkind. At the same time it is clear that Burghley's purpose was to draw from Heath an answer, which he could turn to his own advantage in defending himself against the *Treatise of Treasons;* and "the reader would be wrong," says Father Bridgett, "in concluding from the expressions of courtesy and gratitude," in this

[1] *Spanish Calendar.* "Bishop Quadra to Lord Robert Dudley," April 27, 1561.

[2] *Ibid.* "Guzman de Silva to the King," October 14, 1564.

and the following letter, "that the venerable Archbishop owed any very great debt to Lord Burghley."

In the same way, from what he says as to his "mind to repair to London," it would be a mistake to argue that he was at all free master of his movements; since he himself says that in this he is acting "upon the contents" of Lord Burghley's letter, who apparently had so directed.

It is impossible, however, to read these letters of the former Lord High Chancellor of England without being touched by the sweet, forgiving spirit, in which the old man writes to the author of his long unjust imprisonment. It is affecting, too, to see from them the state of feebleness and pain to which confinement had reduced him, so that it had become "a great grief" to him even to write two lines.

His second letter, supplying the recollections desired by Lord Burghley, was written four days later from Southwark; whither, as announced in the one preceding, he had been meantime conveyed. It is dated by him "from *my house* in Southwark"; and was evidently written from a residence belonging really to Lord Montague, but which for many years was placed by that pious nobleman, "rent free," at the deposed Archbishop's service; as we shall see from a letter of Lord Montague's to be quoted further on. Except, however, at occasional brief moments, such as that of which we speak, the poor imprisoned Prelate can have had but little opportunity of using it. This second letter ran as follows:—

"Sir—Perusing your Lordship's letter again after departure of the pursuivant,[1] and thereby perceiving that your Lordship requireth to have mine answer in writing to the matter therein contained, I have thought it my duty to certify what I have or can of myself remember therein, as followeth. I do not remember that I had ever any talk with you touching the office of Chancellor but only one time, which was, as I think, about two or three days afore

[1] Apparently a letter received by Heath after reaching Southwark, in reply to his own of September 22nd.

the death of Queen Mary in mine own house, whither you gently came at my desire. At which time, after a long discourse of divers things, wherein I was desirous to confer with you, both touching the Queen's Majesty that now is —whom I beseech Almighty God always to preserve—and touching the state of the realm; and also the matter of religion, the particulars whereof I have clean forgotten; I do remember that I did earnestly move you to stand my friend, and to be a mean to the Queen's Majesty that now is, that I might be utterly disburdened of mine office; unto the which office, although I did ever think and know myself for many respects most unmeet, both before I had it, and when I had it, and ever since, and for mine own unmeetness, was very loth at the first to take it, and very soon was weary of it, and took it for a great burden ever after; yet, because I thought and partly heard by some that were about Her Grace that the Queen's Majesty that now is, of her own only good disposition, without any cause or merit on my part, had a gracious and favourable mind towards me, and liked better of my service and doings in the office than I was worthy—as afterwards her Majesty, when I delivered up the Seal into her own hands, did by her own mouth declare in a great and an honourable presence—for the which I am most bound to honour and love her Majesty perpetually, and thought my service therewith better rewarded than it could have been by any other worldly recompense. Upon this consideration I thought it good to prevent the matter, and so craved your friendship and aid, that I might in any wise leave the office; which my request and earnest desire you declared yourself to mislike, praising and commending me and my service; whereon I conceived that you were not so ready to set forward my suit as I did wish. Howbeit, I was so earnest with you, that at length it came in talk betwixt us; and, as I think, you demanded of me whom I could name to be a fit and sufficient man for the office, of whom the Queen's Majesty might be advised."

[At this point the old man's strength evidently failed

him, and the remainder of the letter was written for him by another hand.]

"Whereunto I answered that, God be thanked, there was choice enough; but whether I named any particular man, or no, I cannot tell, but I rather think that I named none; and because I staggered to name any, as I remember, you, to help me, said, 'What think you of such a man, or such a man?' naming three or four; but, afore God, I remember none of them, but only Dr Wotton; and methinks that I am well assured that there was no word spoken of my Lord Keeper that now is. But, for my own point, I thought them all that were na[med][1] to be sufficient; for, so myself were rid of the office, I nothing doubted but the Queen's Majesty would provide no man for the office but she would be assured that he should be sufficient enough; and, God be praised, therefore, her Majesty had choice enough of such at that time, and yet hath. And this is all I can remember me of that matter. Now, what you did, or how you proceeded afterward touching the office, either with the Queen's Majesty, or otherwise, I am utterly ignorant; for I do not think that ever you, or any other, talked with me thereof afterward. But because the Queen's Majesty, what time I delivered up the Seal, said that, although her Majesty [mutilated] took the Seal from me into her own custody for order's sake, yet she would not utterly discharge me of the office I remained still in fear lest I might be burdened therewith again, until the Seal was delivered to my Lord Keeper that now is, of whom I heard no speaking until he had the office; but I was very glad that one had it. Thus I commend your Lordship to God. From my house in Southwark, the 26th of September 1573.

"Your Lordship's always assured to his little power.

"NICO. HEYTH."[2]

[1] Mutilated in the original.

[2] Given by Father Bridgett, p. 110, from the original in the British Museum, Vesp. F. xiii. 229.

The interview between himself and Cecil, of which the good Archbishop here gives his recollections, had taken place, as he relates, some days before Queen Mary's death; and whilst Elizabeth herself and Cecil, with Dr Wotton and the other persons mentioned, were all as yet at least still Catholics in name. Excepting, in so far as it shows that Heath had been really anxious to resign the Chancellorship, the letter leaves entirely untouched the accusation which Burghley was seeking to refute; and, if he had hoped to find in it any vindication of his act in placing Bacon in the vacant office, he must have been disappointed. At the same time it lets us see again how thoroughly conscious of the untruth of his own words Burghley must have been, when he wrote in his *Execution of Justice* that Elizabeth had "continued Heath in *both* his offices," when she had relieved him of the Great Seal on the day after her accession.

We hear no more of Archbishop Heath in connection with the *Treatise of Treasons* and its accusations against Burghley, whose extreme vexation at them is shown by the way in which, in sending on the book to Parker, he complained of the dangerous manner in which "My Lord Keeper is, with me, beaten with a viperous generation of traitorous Papists, and I fear of some domestic hidden scorpion."[1] For more than a year, as the Calendars of State Papers show, his agents abroad were occupied in unsuccessful attempts to find out the author of the book.

How long the Archbishop was detained by this affair in London we have nothing to tell us, but in the July of the next year, 1574, we hear of him again at Chobham from a letter of one of those miserable spies, who then traded on the sufferings of the persecuted Catholics. This man was a miscreant minister, named David Jones, who tells in his own letters how he had made a sham confession to a priest in the Marshalsea; and who, having thus gained information as to the houses in which Mass was said, made

[1] Strype's *Life of Parker*, p. 442.

it his business to frequent them, and to report those whom he had seen there to the Government.

The following is from a report of this kind addressed by Jones on the 6th of July 1574, to Mills, the secretary of Sir Francis Walsingham :—

"Mr Mills, I do commend me unto you. This shall be to let you understand that I was confessed in the Marshalsea, and twain more with me were confessed, which were Mr Bluett of the sign of the Hanging Sword in Fleet Street, . . . and one David Sadler of Fleet Street. Also I do give you to understand that there shall be upon Sunday come se'nnight a mass at my lord Bishop Hethe, which was Bishop of York; and he doth dwell within a little way of Windsor, as I heard say, but I will see afore it be long. Also there doth come thither a great sort."[1]

A fortnight later, the same spy again wrote to Mills on July 20: "I desire you to send me a word what your pleasure is, afore Saturday at three o'clock at afternoon, whether I shall go to Dr Hethe, or not, for I will travel all night, and if you will."[2]

With no other information than that which the letter of this spy supplies, it is not easy to tell precisely what was Archbishop Heath's position at the time. If the spy may be believed, he would appear at this time to have gained sufficient liberty—with the connivance, we must suppose, of his keepers—to receive visits from the Catholics (for these, of course, were the "great sort" mentioned by the spy as coming to him), and even to assemble them occasionally in his house for mass.

What came of the information thus conveyed to Walsingham, who had become Secretary of State only the year before, we have no means of knowing; but it seems not without significance that this spy's letter of

[1] *R. O. Dom. Eliz.*, vol. xcvii., No. 27. In Father Morris's *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers* (2nd series, pp. 301-303), this letter and the following one are both printed at full length.

[2] *R. O., ibid.*, No. 39.

July 1574 contains the last mention we can find of Heath as resident at Chobham; although in a document of a few years later the place is still named as belonging to him. It easily may be that it was the above occurrence that led to the Archbishop being again removed for the last time into the Tower. In any case we may be certain that, if he still remained awhile at Chobham, it must have been from that time in much stricter custody.

Towards the end of the same year, the attention of the persecutors was directed to the great number of conversions, which they found were taking place, due to the zealous efforts, both of the Marian clergy still surviving, and of the first Douai missionaries then just entering the country;[1] and also, as Strype remarks, to the "abundance of Popish books clandestinely imported."[2]

The result was a letter from the Council, on November 15, 1574, to Parker and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, enjoining greater severity "touching persons imprisoned for religion";[3] and leading to fresh questionings of the poor Archbishop and of Bishop Watson by which their very lives were once more put in danger, as is shown by the following from a letter of Antonio de Guaras to the Spanish Secretary of State, dated London, November 28:

"The Queen has appointed commissioners who are furiously examining the principal Catholics, *Bishops*, and others who are prisoners or under surety, the substance of their examination being as follows: If they recognise the Queen as head of the Church of England? To this they have all replied to the same effect, although examined separately, that they did not, and that the Sovereign Pontiff is the head of the Universal Church and Vicar of Our Lord Jesus Christ. They were then asked if they recognised the Queen as sovereign, to which they replied

[1] The first four priests from Douai—Louis Barlow, Henry Shaw, Thomas Metham, and Martin Nelson—were sent to England in 1574 (*Douai Diaries*, p. 24).

[2] *Life of Parker*, p. 476.

[3] Acts of Privy Council, November 15, 1574.

that they did. They were next asked whether they accepted her as the legitimate Queen, to which they replied that they recognised her as sovereign, and declined to say anything more in consequence of the law. They were asked who they considered was the heir to the throne after this Queen; to which they replied that that would be shown by the royal pedigree. They were then asked what was the Universal Church of which they spoke, and to this they replied, 'The Roman Church, which was gathered by the Holy Ghost at Trent, and it always would be so considered by Catholics.' They were examined as to their belief in the Holy Sacrament, and their reply was that they firmly believed in the real presence contained therein after the sacramental words had been pronounced by the priest. They said they believed in this presence, jointly divine and human, as it was upon the cross, true God and true man; and they added with much constancy that he who did not believe this could not hope for salvation. They were then asked if the service in use in churches here by order of the Queen was acceptable to God; and they distinctly replied that it was not, as it was performed outside of the unity of the Church, and contrary to its sacred doctrine. To all these things they, being all Catholics, answered similarly, being ready to live or die in the truth, which they hold before men, *constant unto martyrdom*. Each one had to sign his name to his confession for the information of the Queen and Council. People expect that severity will come of this. . . . London, 28th November 1574."[1]

The *Bishops* here spoken of by De Guaras as having been thus questioned to the peril of their lives, could of course be only Heath and Watson, who were then the sole survivors; and what he says, as to the interrogations put to them on this occasion, is fully confirmed by what Cardinal Allen wrote with reference to the same thing, something less than ten years later, in meeting Burghley's

[1] *Spanish Calendar*. Antonio de Guaras to Zayas, November 28, 1574.

false assertion that none of the Bishops had been "called to any capital, or bloody, question upon matters of religion, . . . so as to bring them into danger of any capital law."

In reply to this, Allen remarks: "Nor yet were they [the Bishops] always free from such or other bloody and quarrelling demands, as now are put to us for entangling of our blood; whereof as well the honourable Confessor and Bishop of London may be an example before any excommunication of the Queen was heard of; as other Prelates and prisoners of that time and rank convented afterward *about nine years ago*, and (who) had interrogatories concerning the Bull of the very same sense and peril as these that quiet Catholic men are now tempted even to death withal."[1]

Writing this, as Allen did, in the May or June of 1584,[2] it is evident that the questioning of the Bishops referred to by him, as "about nine years ago," was the same reported by De Guaras in November, 1574.

The holy Confessors, who made this intrepid confession of their faith, were evidently fully ready to lay down their lives for it, if need be; and that they were not then actually put to death must have been solely due to the fear of the outcry which their execution would have raised.

We are not told in what place the Confessors were subjected to this examination, but we have heard Allen speak of the suffering occasioned to them by their continual shifting from one place of confinement to another, and the circumstances all seem to show that at this time they were both of them in one or other of the London prisons. The announcement made in the previous July of the Archbishop's Mass at Chobham would probably be judged of itself sufficient reason for replacing him in the Tower; and that this had been the case, seems to be shown by a letter addressed by Grindal to Lord Burghley

[1] *True, Sincere, and Modest Defence*, p. 44.

[2] In a letter of July 23, 1584, from Father Persons to the Father General, Allen's answer to the *Execution of Justice* is mentioned as written, and then already "nearly printed" (*Letters and Memoirs of Cardinal Allen*, p. 239, note).

on the 13th of this same November, in which, without any mention of Archbishop Heath as enjoying any liberty, he complains of the recent "enlarging" of Bishop Watson, who had been permitted on July 5 to go from the Marshalsea to his brother's house.[1]

"The imprisoned for religion in these parts," wrote Grindal from York in this letter, "of late made supplication to be enlarged, seeming, as it were, to require it of right by the example of enlarging Feckenham, Watson, and other Papists above [*i.e.*, in London]. We here are to think that all things done above are done upon great causes, though the same be to us unknown. But certainly my Lord President [the Earl of Huntingdon] and I join in opinion that if such a general jubilee should be put in use in these parts, a great relapse would follow soon after."[2]

If the Archbishop had been then still living in his house at Chobham, it seems scarcely probable that Grindal would not have mentioned it; and the fact that during the next three years no allusion can anywhere be found, either to him or Bishop Watson, is the best evidence of the severity with which they then were both kept confined.

We first hear of them both again, three years later, in connection with the fierce outbreak of persecution in which B. Cuthbert Mayne, the Proto-martyr of the Douai-missionaries, won his crown.

The arrest of B. Cuthbert Mayne took place in Cornwall on June 8, 1577; and a letter, which had there been found upon him, was at once sent up to the Council proving that vestments and other requisites for Mass had been blessed for him by Bishop Watson,[3] who a little time before had been again allowed to go to his brother's house.

In connection, it would seem, with this discovery, the Council addressed, on June 24, a letter to Aylmer, the

[1] Acts of Privy Council, July 5, 1574.

[2] *Remains of Archbishop Grindal*, p. 351. Abbot Feckenham had been released from the Marshalsea on bail a few days after Bishop Watson, as the Acts of the Privy Council show on July 17, 1574.

[3] Father Morris, *Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers*, 1st series, p. 85.

Protestant Bishop of London, to the effect that they had learnt "that Watson, Feckenham, and Young, and others, late prisoners for matters of religion, suffered for their liberty to remain in the country and some houses of London, have very much abused themselves in suffering certain of her Majesty's evil disposed subjects to resort unto them"; and requiring him "to cause diligent search to be made of all such as have been . . . so set at liberty and do remain either in the city or in the country."[1]

That Aylmer did not require pressing in a matter of this sort, is shown by a letter which Father Bridgett quotes, written by him in this same month to Burghley, the Lord Treasurer, urging him "to use more severity than hitherto hath been used, or else we shall smart for it"; and proposing that the Catholic prisoners "should be again quartered on the Bishops, such as Winchester, Lincoln, Chichester, or Ely."[2]

In accordance with this suggestion, on the following July the 28th, Bishop Watson was by order of the Council committed to the keeping of Horne of Winchester; the following, who had been for some time also out on bail, viz., Abbot Feckenham, Dr John Harpsfield, and Dr Young, being consigned at the same time respectively to Cox of Ely, Cowper of Lincoln, and Godwin, Dean of Canterbury.[3]

Reports of what was taking place were conveyed without delay to Douai, and the following entry, made in the College Diary on August the 7th, shows how anxiously were there still kept in mind the two venerable Bishops and other holy Confessors, who for so many years had borne chains in England for the faith: "At this time, also," it is noted in the Diary, "news was brought that the Catholic Bishops and Doctors, who for several months[4]

[1] Acts of Privy Council, June 24, 1577.

[2] *Eliz. and Cath. Hier.*, p. 182.

[3] Acts of Privy Council, July 28, 1577.

[4] From this it is clear that Father Bridgett was mistaken in supposing Bishop Watson to have been with his brother three whole years, namely, from the July of 1574 to that of 1577. He had evidently been sent back to prison at the time that he was questioned in the way we saw, in the November of 1574.

had gained some little liberty [*aliquantulam libertatem*], are now being again delivered into the keeping of the pseudo-bishops."[1] Whatever, then, the "little liberty" gained by them may have amounted to, it had only lasted for some months.

As regards, indeed, Archbishop Heath, there is no evidence to show that within the previous three years the restraint placed upon him had ever been relaxed. He is nowhere mentioned amongst those who had been released on bail, nor is there any record of his having been placed at this time in the keeping of any of the Protestant Prelates. At the same time the assessment of his property at Chobham as that of a recusant, in the autumn of this very year, proves that the persecutors had not overlooked him; whilst it seems almost impossible—considering the violence with which the persecution had now begun to rage —that he can have gone on living there himself without, at all events, leaving some trace behind him. The complete silence, therefore, with regard to him seems necessarily to point to the conclusion that he had been all the while left still lying in the Tower, where we are told he breathed his last before the end of the next year.

The violence of the persecution may be gathered from the notice of it in the *Douai Diary*, on November the 14th, where, in obedience to the orders of the Council, the pseudo-bishops and pseudo-archdeacons are described as diligently seeking out the Catholics, writing down their names, and the number of those reconciled, and making an exact inventory of their riches and possessions.[2] Long lists, too, of the "prisoners for religion," placed at this time in the public jails, still lie amongst the State Papers.

On the 29th, moreover, of this same November, took place the martyrdom of B. Cuthbert Mayne, which was followed, little more than two months later, by those of B. John Nelson and B. Thomas Sherwood; whilst the suffering condition of the Catholics, in the April of 1578, is thus described by Don Bernardino de Mendoza, the

[1] *Douai Diaries*, p. 127, "August 7, 1577."
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 140.

Spanish ambassador: "The Queen has sent all through the country fully authorised officers with powers such as never have been granted before, to seize and imprison Catholics without appeal."[1]

The mention of Archbishop Heath at this time, as the "recusant" proprietor of Chobham Park, occurs in a "Report relative to the recusants in the County of Surrey," dated Guildford, October 25, 1577, which was presented to the Council by Sir William More and Sir Thomas Browne. The Report of these two magistrates enclosed a "Certificate of all such persons as refuse to come to church, with the value of their lands and goods," in which is found the following:—

"Chobham" (*in the margin*, "Priest"). "Doctor Heath doth not come to the church. Other lands or goods to maintain himself withal than Chobham Park we know not."[2]

From this notification of his property as that of a recusant, no conclusion can be drawn as to the place in which the Archbishop was at that time himself; although it does show that he was granted no exemption from the common law.

But whether we be actually right or not in believing the Tower itself to have been his abode from the autumn of 1574 until his death there at the end of 1578, it is certain, at any rate, that during the last year of his life both he and Bishop Watson were confined, with such extreme severity as to necessitate the obtaining from the Pope of certain episcopal powers for three of the missionary priests.

In the Westminster Archives there is preserved a Brief addressed by Pope Gregory XIII., on May the 24th, 1578, to George Blackwell, who was afterwards Archpriest, empowering him to consecrate altar stones, and give other episcopal blessings; and in this, the close imprisonment of

[1] *Spanish Calendar*, April 22, 1578.

[2] *R. O. Dom. Eliz.*, cxvii., 14 (1). Accompanying this there is a second list of the Recusants of Surrey, in which the Archbishop is also named almost in the same words.

the two surviving English Bishops is expressly mentioned as the reason of this power being given to one not himself a Bishop. The same powers were conferred, says Dodd, at the same time and in the self-same words, on two other priests, named Robert Gwin and Vivian Haydock.[1] The following is taken from the Pope's Brief to Blackwell :—

"In as much as you have lately caused it to be explained to us that, in the kingdom of England at the present moment, *there exist only two Catholic Bishops, one of whom is an Archbishop, and the other a Bishop, and that they are kept so closely imprisoned* as to be unable there to supply the wants of the Catholics by performing any episcopal function; we, desiring the salvation of souls, and the consolation of the Catholics who are living in the midst of heretics," etc.[2]

We have seen that the Pontiff's attention had been called to the imprisonment of these same two Prelates immediately after his accession; and in this Brief, issued by him only some six months before the Archbishop's death, we have the plainest declaration of the continuance of their strict confinement.

But in addition to the testimony to the Archbishop's close confinement in the last year of his life, which is afforded by this Papal Brief, we have the positive assurance of Peter Le Neve, the antiquarian, as to the tradition handed down in the Archbishop's family that his actual death took place *in the Tower;* Le Neve having himself received this information from the head of the Heath family in his time.

Le Neve is praised by his biographers for his "remarkable industry" in collecting, and for the "strict honesty of all his work."[3] He was President of the Anti-

[1] *Church History of England*, vol. ii., p. 251.

[2] "Quod in regno Angliæ duo Catholici Antistites, quorum unus est Archiepiscopus, alter vero Episcopus, duntaxat ad præseus reperiuntur, ac in tanta custodia detinentur ut non possint ulla episcopal ifunctione necessitatibus Catholicorum ibi succurrere." (Westminster Archives, vol. ii., p. 79.)

[3] *Dict. Nat. Biog.* (article, "Le Neve, Peter").

quarian Society for thirty-seven years; and at his death, in 1729, he left in manuscript the Pedigrees, which he had drawn up, of the Knights created by Charles II., and the three next sovereigns; and these were published in 1873 by the Harleian Society.

Amongst these Pedigrees is that of Sir Richard Heath of Hatsland, Surrey—a Baron of the Exchequer knighted in 1686—whose descent is traced by Le Neve from a certain "Roger Heath of Yatley, Hants, *brother and heir*," he says, "*to the Archbishop.*"

His account of this knight and his family is prefaced by Le Neve with the remark: "This information I had from Sir Richard Heath, his own mouth, A.D. 1697." In it, therefore, he has preserved to us the Heath family tradition; and what makes his account of the death of the Archbishop especially deserving of attention, is his reference in it to Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses.* For Wood (whose work had appeared in 1691), had but repeated Burghley's story, as enlarged by Camden, of Heath's pleasant life and comfortable end at Chobham;[1] and Le Neve makes it clear that he meant his own statement, as to the Archbishop's death in the Tower, to be an express *contradiction* of the story which he found in Wood.

The father of the Archbishop and of his brother Roger was, says Le Neve, Mr Heath "of Aspley in Tamworth parish, Warwick." The following is what he says of the Archbishop himself:—

"Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York by Queen Mary (see Wood, *Athen. Oxon.*), Lord Chancellor of England. *Died in the Tower of London, but falsely lived at Chobham, Surrey.* Died A.D. 1579. Buried in Chobham chancel. Thomas Heath took administration, 5th May 1579."

We shall see directly that the true year of the Archbishop's death was 1578; and, in giving 1579, Le Neve was here following Wood, whose sole ground for naming that year was a commission "to administer the goods, etc., of Nicholas Heath, S.T.P., sometime Archbishop of York,"

[1] Wood, through following the English version of Camden, was misled into calling the place "Cobham."

which he had found to have been granted on May 5, 1579, to "Thomas Heath," as his "next kinsman."[1]

The descent of Sir Richard Heath (from whose pedigree the above is taken) is traced as follows by Le Neve from the Archbishop's brother:—

"Roger Heath of Yatley, Hants, brother and heir to the Archbishop.
|
Richard Heath . . .
|
Roger Heath of Shalford . . . died about 1661. . . .
|
Sir Richard Heath of Hatsland."[2]

The administration taken out by Thomas Heath, so soon after the Archbishop's death, shows that the latter's brother, Roger, must have survived him but a very little time.

All later writers appear to have followed Wood in placing the Archbishop's death in 1579. The following letter, however, in which Lord Montague announces the event to Sir William More, the Surrey magistrate already mentioned, makes it certain that he really died before the end of 1578.

Strangely enough, this most interesting letter of Lord Montague's, which the Historical Manuscripts Commission published from the original in the possession of William More Molyneux, Esq., of Loseley Park, Surrey (a descendant of the magistrate to whom it was addressed), seems nowhere yet to have attracted any notice.

The good nobleman that wrote it has been already mentioned in connection with the various efforts to obtain relief for the imprisoned Bishops; and it furnishes most pleasing proof of his devoted and persevering attachment to the venerable sufferer, whose death he announces in it. Sir William More, as one of the two local magistrates by

[1] Wood (vol. i., p. 705, ed. 1721) refers to "Lib. MS. Administrationum in Offic. Prærog. Cant. incipiente, 1 Januarii 1571, f. 168*a*."

[2] Le Neve's *Pedigrees of the Knights made by Charles II., James II., William III., and Anne*, edited by George W. Marshall, LL.D. Publications of the Harleian Society, vol. viii., 1873, p. 408.

whom the Archbishop had been named to the Council as a recusant, was of course aware of the imprisoned state in which he had passed away, and there is, therefore, no allusion to this in the letter. Sir William seems, however, to have shown some sort of consideration for the venerable Prelate; and Lord Montague's chief reason for writing to him was to obtain his protection for the Archbishop's faithful servants left at Chobham, feeling, apparently, but little confidence in the nephew who was to inherit the estate. It seems clear from the letter that Lord Montague had been with the holy Prelate not long before his death, the day of which he unfortunately does not mention. The letter, however, which seems to have been written quickly after it, is dated the 12th of December. The spelling of it is here modernised:—

"12th of December, 1578. Anthony, Viscount Montague, to Sir William More, Knight.

"Good Sir William, I am informed that it hath pleased God to take the poor old man and late Bishop of York to His mercy. Who in his life time and lastly even before his death required me, as his old friend, to give you thanks for your good will and like respect had towards him. And truly besides that knowledge you have of me touching yourself, I would, if I could, as gladly requite for him any friendship showed by you unto him. It may be that upon his death some hard dealing may be offered there[1] by this fond nephew, or otherwise, to the poor men, his servants in his causes. I most heartily and earnestly request you to give to them aid and assistance, only in justice and none otherwise. I have also thought good to signify unto you that, at his death, he hath willed and given his books to me, which I greatly esteem; and there is cause. I pray you, therefore, if any stay should be made of them by any order, to procure that they may be seen and viewed. And if the books be lawful to be had, and he had power to give them me, I doubt not but upon my claim none other person will seek to take my right from me. There is

[1] *I.e.*, at Chobham.

some cause besides our being acquainted that it were not unlike he would will them to me, both for that he knoweth I love them, and also he hath had a proper house of mine in London, rent free, these seventeen years and more of good value."[1]

Thus it was that in the beginning of December 1578, the gentle Confessor's long suffering in captivity for the faith was at length brought to a close, after enduring imprisonment in one form or another for fully nineteen years. The same sweet spirit of forgivingness, which we remarked in his letters to Lord Burghley, is shown in his dying message to Sir William More. Archbishop Heath is said to have been born in London about 1501, and to have taken his B.A. at Cambridge[2] in 1520. He must, therefore, have been, at least, in his 78th year at his death, which took place, moreover, at a time when, owing to the fierceness of the persecution, those imprisoned in the Tower are less likely than ever to have met with gentle treatment. Thus with good reason were the titles of Confessor and Martyr given to the holy Archbishop by Rishton, Bridgewater, and other writers of the time.

From other letters of Lord Montague to the same Sir William More, we learn something of what must have been to the holy man another cause of sorrow, namely, the misconduct of some of his nearest relatives.

We have seen the nephew, who was to come in for the Archbishop's little property, described by Lord Montague as his "fond," *i.e.*, his foolish, nephew; though we find that good nobleman, on the 29th of the same month, writing, in answer to an inquiry from Sir William, that he knows nothing of "the now owner of Chobham Park, Mr Heth; but for the gentleman's good uncle's sake," he would respond to any entreaty from him for aid, as though he were his brother.[3]

[1] Historical Manuscripts Commission, Appendix to Seventh Report, p. 632.

[2] Cooper, *Athen. Cantab.*, vol. i., p. 402.

[3] Hist. MSS. Com. Rep., *ibid.*, p. 633.

In a third letter, however, written some years later, on March 7, 1582, Lord Montague speaks more plainly of the ingratitude both of this same nephew, and of his father, the Archbishop's brother, who had evidently died almost at the same time as the Archbishop himself. In this letter Lord Montague regrets "the continuance of this counterfeit cause in that inconstant vain body Heath—a matter much feared by his late uncle in his life, and a mean to bring him to be a spoil to others by whom he is now under-hand guided. He is over like his foolish, ungrateful father, who, as he wanted all thankfulness to him he was most bound unto, so did he in his life spoil all; and, if he had lived, would have been little the better for this; and so I believe it will fall out with his son."[1]

If these relatives, however, gave the holy man but little consolation, it is at least comforting to know that he left behind him another nephew, who imitated his martyred uncle's constancy, and who died, like him, in 1590, imprisoned in Worcester for the faith, as is shown by the following extract from the note-book of Father Christopher Grene, S.J.:—

"In Worcester . . . two gentlemen there dead also in the gaol—Mr William Bradstock and Mr William Heath. This Heath [was] nephew to Mr Dr Heath, Archbishop of York, and Chancellor of England. These gentlemen had endured much in prison, having continued there three or four years, and all they had taken from them."[2]

It only remains for us to relate what can be said with reference to the good Archbishop's burial.

At Chobham, though no trace of tomb or monument remains, the tradition still exists that he was there buried in the church; and we have seen that Le Neve, who declares that he "died in the Tower," states at the same time that he was "buried in Chobham chancel." It would seem, therefore, that either the Archbishop's faithful

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 636.

[2] Father Morris, *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, 3rd series, p. 36.

servants, or his nephew, aided perhaps by Lord Montague, obtained permission to convey his remains thither from the Tower.

Aubrey, indeed, who died in 1697, describes Archbishop Heath as lying buried in Chobham Church "on the north side of the chancel, under a large blue marble gravestone."[1] In consequence, however, of some alteration in the church, the Archbishop's tombstone seems not long after this to have disappeared; for Browne Willis, who quotes these words of Aubrey's, as well as the tradition of the Chobham people, in his *Survey of Cathedrals* adds the remark, "Though when I was there in 1723, I could see no sign of any gravestone that was in memory of him, or of his name, notwithstanding his relations flourished there till very lately."[2]

Although no longer marked by any gravestone or inscription, there seems no reason to doubt that in the vault beneath the chancel of this ancient church, which once was Catholic, the remains of the holy Archbishop still await their resurrection.

For the sake, however, of clearing up a seeming contradiction, we must not leave the subject without taking notice of the mistake into which Wood was led with reference to the burial-place of Archbishop Heath, through following the English version of Camden's *Annals*, in which, as we have seen, the Latin word *Chobhamiæ* was mistranslated "Cobham."

Following this version, Wood describes the Archbishop as "retiring to his estate," not at Chobham, but "at *Cobham*"; and it was accordingly at *Cobham* that he made his inquiries after the Archbishop's tomb, thus anticipating the blunder made by Strype soon afterwards with reference to his supposed estate. Each of these writers was moreover confirmed still further in his error by the fact that *at Cobham also* one branch of the Heath family had been settled; of which, moreover, at least one member had been buried there in the chancel of the

[1] *Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey*, vol. iii., p. 200.
[2] *Survey of Cathedrals*, vol. i., p. 46.

church. It is, therefore, no great wonder that the tomb of this one was taken by Wood for that of the Archbishop.

"Archbishop Heath," he writes, "was buried in the middle of the chancel belonging to the Church of Cobham before mentioned, and over his grave was soon after a plain marble stone laid, with an inscription thereon; which stone was since broken and made shorter, and the inscription, engraven on a brass plate, taken away."

That Wood was mistaken in thus identifying with the tomb of the Archbishop this grave in the centre of the chancel of the Church of Cobham (where there is no evidence of his ever having been), is manifest from all that has preceded. There is no difficulty, however, in understanding that it may have been the grave of some relative of the Archbishop's; since we have seen from Strype that, at one time, a large manor had been held at Cobham by a Mr Heath, whom he supposed to have been connected with him.

Taken, moreover, in connection with what he goes on to say immediately after, Wood's description of this tomb at Cobham, which had been, he says, denuded of its brass, at once brings back to our minds the brass of William Heath of Chobham, to which there is no corresponding tomb, for Wood thus continues:—

"His brother, *William Heath*, as he is at Cobham so called, was also buried in the said chancel some years, as it seems, before the Archbishop, where there was lately, if not still, some memory of him on a gravestone. But who are now the possessors of the Archbishop's lands there which he left to his relations, I cannot tell."[1]

The certificate of the Surrey magistrates already quoted proves that the Archbishop's lands, such as they were, lay entirely at Chobham; nor is *his* history in any way affected, whether we suppose the William Heath, named on the Chobham brass, to have been the same person or not, as the one whose tomb Wood speaks of at Cobham. At the same time it seems not hard to under-

[1] *Athen. Oxon.*, vol. i., col. 705, ed. 1721.

stand that the same gentleman, who for distinction's sake was described upon that brass as by origin "of Chabham," may have also held the estate at Cobham, and have there been buried. This, too, would seem to explain the otherwise superfluous mention on the brass of Surrey, as the county in which Chobham lies; though from the fact of this latter being the only place in that county named upon it, the brass would naturally be sent to Chobham, when found separated from the tombstone.

These two places, which lie some nine miles from each other, have both been visited by the present writer; and in the Church of Cobham his attention was at once arrested by finding, fastened to the wall near the South transept, and quite detached from any scroll or tomb, a small brass figure of a Knight, or Esquire,[1] which apparently might easily have lain above the scroll of William Heath, now preserved by itself at Chobham.

Mistaken though Wood was as to the places of the Archbishop's death and burial, he has preserved to us the following interesting description of his personal appearance drawn from a portrait of him, with which he was himself familiar.

"The picture, drawn to the life of the said Archbishop, I have many times seen, which shows him to have been proper in person, black-haired, pale-faced, thin and macerated, somewhat like the picture of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, but his nose is not so long. I say this picture I have often beheld, among many other choice pictures, hanging in the large gallery belonging to Weston House, near Long Compton in Warwickshire, now in the possession of my worthy acquaintance, Ralph Sheldon, Esqr."

The Archbishop of York was the last of the eleven holy Bishops commemorated in the English College

[1] An engraving of this Cobham brass, which has on the back of the same plate an earlier engraving of a Priest holding a chalice (whose brass had been used to make into that of the Esquire), is given as a good example of a "Palimpsest brass," in Herbert Haines's *Manual of Monumental Brasses*, 1881, introduction, p. xlv.

pictures, to tell the story of whose sufferings the present work was undertaken.

For what remains still to be told of the good Bishop of Lincoln, who for nearly six years longer lingered on in prison, until he died in Wisbeach Castle, on the 27th of September, 1584, the reader must be referred to Father Bridgett's *Queen Elizabeth and the Catholic Hierarchy*, in which a full biography of him is given.

CARDINAL WILLIAM ALLEN, Founded Douai College, 1568 ; created Cardinal, 1587 ; died 1594.

(From the Portrait at Ushaw.)

[*To face p.* 415.

CHAPTER XX

TESTIMONIES TO THE "MARTYRDOM" OF THE ELEVEN BISHOPS

In the preceding pages, the history of the eleven Bishops of the English College pictures has been traced, as fully as existing records will allow, from the time of their refusal to accept the new religion set up by Elizabeth and her Parliament, to their gradual extinction in their prisons; where, as the inscription set beneath their picture said, "they died *worn out by the miseries of their long imprisonment.*"

That the sole cause of the displacement of the Bishops from their Sees was their attachment to the ancient faith, and that they all continued constant in it till their last breath was drawn, has never been even called in question; nor will those, who have followed the preceding narrative with unbiassed minds, be likely to find any difficulty in accepting the plain statement, made in that inscription, that the deaths of the imprisoned Bishops resulted from their sufferings.

The history of that inscription (erected with the express sanction of the Pontiff), proves it to have been the work of eminent men possessed of the surest information; and, looked at merely as a public and contemporary record, its authority cannot be disregarded.

Nevertheless, the fact that all these glorious and holy Bishops were thus practically *put to death* for their religion has been so obscured by their persecutors' efforts to conceal it, both at the time and after, that (even at the risk of

some repetition) it seems desirable to put briefly here together a few testimonies, which will make it plain that the statement placed beneath the picture of the Bishops' prison did but express the belief of all their Catholic contemporaries.

1. *Dr Nicholas Sander.*

We begin naturally with the famous historian of the English Schism, who, in spite of the violence with which he was once attacked by Protestants, is shown by recent non-Catholic historians to have been "*remarkably truthful in his narrative of facts;*"[1] and who by the Catholics both of his own time and after, has been ever held in the highest possible esteem.

Sander's earliest reference to the imprisoned Bishops is of course in his Report of 1561 to Cardinal Morone, so much of which has been already given in these pages.

The light, in which the four of these who had then already died in prison were at once regarded by him, is shown unmistakably by the remark with which, in this Report, he introduces his announcement of their deaths—the four being Bishops Tunstall, Bayne, Oglethorpe, and White.

"From what St Cyprian says (Lib. III., Epist. 6) we may conclude that we have now to deal, not with the Acts of simple Confessors, but of *Martyrs.* The only thing to be regretted is that, being at a distance, we were unable to take note of their days."

The full significance of this remark is only seen on turning to the letter of St Cyprian, to which Sander here refers. It is a letter which was written by the Saint from the hiding-place to which the persecution had forced him to retire, charging the clergy who remained at Carthage to note well all those that died for the faith *in prison;* since these were as truly to be accounted *Martyrs* as those that expired under tortures. The letter runs as follows:—

"Cyprian to the Priests and Deacons, greeting. Know-

[1] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

ing though I do, beloved brethren, that in my letters you have been frequently admonished to render every attention to those who have made a glorious confession of the Lord, and are detained in prison; nevertheless I again address myself to you from time to time, in order to make sure that there shall be nothing wanting in the care bestowed on those to whose glory there is nothing wanting. And would, indeed, that my place of residence and the requirements of my position would allow me to be myself now present with them! Gladly and willingly would I perform for these bravest of our brethren all the services which love usually pays. Let your diligent care, however, represent the services which I would pay; and do everything that is due to those, whom the divine condescension has made glorious through the merits of such faith and virtue. Let special watchfulness be also shown in caring for the bodies of all those *who in prison—though not put to torture*—nevertheless depart by a death which is really glorious. For neither is their virtue nor the honour due to them the less, *that they should not also be ranked amongst the Martyrs.* As far as concerns them, they *have* suffered, and have been prepared and willing to suffer anything. In the sight of God, he who has offered himself to torments and to death, *has* suffered all that he has been willing to suffer. For it is not that he has failed under the torments, but that the torments have failed *him.* According to what is written—'He that shall confess me before men, I will also confess him before my Father, who is in heaven,' they *have* confessed. Our Lord says—'He that shall endure unto the end, he shall be saved.' They *have* endured, and have carried even to the end the incorrupt and unstained merits of their virtues. Again it is written, 'Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the crown of life.' They have even unto death continued faithful, firm, and invincible. When, to our goodwill and confession, the end is added of dying in prison and in chains, the glory of martyrdom is made full. Finally, take note also of their days, in order that we may be

able to celebrate their commemorations amongst those of the Martyrs."[1]

Such, then, was the letter to which Sander made reference, in announcing these four Bishops' deaths in prison, evidently with the full assurance that the Holy See would view them in the same light, as the imprisoned Confessors of Carthage had been viewed by St Cyprian; and the inscription, sanctioned afterwards for the eleven, seems clearly to show that the Holy See did actually so regard them; since in it their claim to veneration is grounded *on their death in prison for the faith.*

Nothing could, moreover, be more explicit than the words in which, in his last work of all, Sander directly attributes the deaths of the imprisoned Bishops to the cruel treatment they received. In the unfinished portion of his *History of Elizabeth*—which (as has been explained before), though only existing in manuscript, was nevertheless much circulated—after relating the martyrdom of B. Thomas Percy in 1572 at York, Sander exclaims: "If this is Elizabeth's clemency, what will be her cruelty? But [you say] she did not put to death the Catholic Bishops and priests, though she might have done. This is but a brigand's generosity. For what have they done to deserve death? And yet already also has she *slain them nearly all by their prison's stench.* For in order that they might neither be set free by a speedy death, nor receive the glory of martyrdom, *she has thought it better to despatch them gradually* than at once to crown them."[2] Internal evidence shows this work to have been written by Sander about 1576, when Heath and Watson were the only Bishops still alive in prison. He himself died in the spring

[1] S. Cæcilii Cypriani Opera. Oxonii, anno 1682. Epistola XII. The editor notes in the margin that, in previous editions of St Cyprian, this *Epistola XII.* had been placed, as "*Ep. VI. in Lib. III.*," just as Sander quotes it.

[2] "Carceris pædore illos quoque jam pene omnes occidit. Ne enim aut cita morte defungerentur, aut Martyrii gloriam acciperent, maluit eos paulatim conficere quam semel coronare." (From the transcript of Sander's *History*, made by Father Stevenson, S.J.)

of 1581, in Ireland, where he had been sent as Papal Nuncio.

The following few passages from other writers of the time will show how entirely they were of the same mind as Sander:—

2. *Dr Thomas Harding in 1565, and his fellow petitioners to the Pope in 1572.*

Not long after Sander's Report of the death of the four first "martyred" Bishops, we find Harding asking of Jewel with reference to these in 1565: "Is it the word of God that, *by cruelty of imprisonment* of late years, *gave most certain occasion of death* to those holy, learned, and worshipful men, who, for their singular virtue being well known, need not here be named?"[1]

We have also seen how, on the accession of Pope Gregory XIII. in 1572, Harding joined with Allen, Stapleton, and ten others of the exiled clergy, in assuring the new Pontiff that all the Bishops, excepting the two then still living in their prisons, had "departed this life *worn out by wearisome imprisonment*, affliction of mind, and other grievous sufferings."

3. *The Treatise of Treasons, 1573.*

Plainer still is the language of the above-named clever book, whose writer did not hesitate, as we saw, to declare that "all the Bishops had been held in prison" by Elizabeth, "till *by stink and close keeping*, some sooner, some later, *they are all in effect pined away*."

4. *Dr Richard Bristow, 1574.*

Dr Bristow, who was one of Dr Allen's chief assistants in the work of founding Douai College, had previously gained great distinction at Oxford, where he and Campion had together held a disputation before the Queen in 1566. He was the author in 1574 of a little book, ordinarily

[1] Confutation of a Book entitled *Apology of the Church of England*, 1565, f. 224.

spoken of as *Bristow's Motives*, which the Government did their utmost to suppress, but which nevertheless was greatly sought after and appreciated.

In this book, which appeared with a warm letter of approbation from Dr Allen, Bristow did not hesitate to rank our imprisoned Bishops along with B. John Fisher, B. Thomas More, and the Carthusians, as being just as truly "*holy Martyrs*."

"The very naming," he says, "of our Catholic Martyrs, even of this our time, to any reasonable man, may suffice, as the Bishop of Rochester, Sir Thomas More, the Monks of the Charterhouses, with very many more under King Henry; and now of latter time all our *holy Martyrs* that have been and daily are made up by loss of their livings, by prison, by poison, by whipping, by famishing, by banishment, *Bishops*, Priests, Deans, Archdeacons, Canons, ecclesiastical persons of all sorts; so many likewise that have openly suffered—the good Earl of Northumberland, Dr Storey, Felton, the Nortons, Mr Woodhouse, Mr Plumtree, and so many hundreds of the Northernmen—such men, both in their life and at their death, that neither the enemies have to stain them, as their own consciences, their own talk, and the world itself doth bear good witness; many of them also (and therefore *all* of them by cause of their own [one] cause) being by God Himself approved by miracles most undoubted."[1]

A little further on Bristow speaks separately of the imprisoned Bishops (the deaths of all the earlier ones of whom had happened whilst he was still in England), as having been actually brought to an end *by Martyrdom*.

"Who is ignorant that all the Bishoprics, which they [the Protestants] now occupy, were before by Catholics possessed; who with wonderful consent and inseparable unity, stood all most constantly to the Catholic faith, as it became true Pastors, not shrinking away at the wolves' invasion; and were for that cause thrown out of their

[1] A Brief Treatise . . . containing sundry motives unto the Catholic Faith, 1574, p. 72.

charges, cast into prisons, and there are all almost *made up by martyrdom*."[1]

5. *The Petitioners in 1580 for a Bishop.*

Those who have been so far quoted, wrote whilst the venerable Archbishop of York was still living. Although in his imprisoned state he could do little for the persecuted Catholics, these nevertheless, as long as he was living, could generally count on being able to gain access in one way or another, either to him or to the Bishop of Lincoln, at least for the consecration of the holy oils if for nothing else. By his death, however, in the Tower, in the December of 1578, their condition was made more forlorn than ever, Bishop Watson being now the only Bishop in the country; unless account be taken of the Archbishop of Armagh, himself a close prisoner in the Tower.

It is no wonder, therefore, that we find the poor English Catholics in 1580 petitioning the Pope to send some Bishop to them to administer those rites, and especially the Sacrament of Confirmation, which simple priests cannot bestow. This we learn from the *Life* (published only three years later) *of B. Ralph Sherwin*, who came from Rome to England in that very year along with B. Edmund Campion and Father Persons, to be martyred side by side with Campion on the 1st of December 1581. This petition was strongly urged upon Pope Gregory by Dr Allen, who was himself in Rome at the beginning of the year 1580;[2] and, although the Pontiff did not then see his way to the appointment of new Bishops, it led to the setting out from Rome at the same time with Campion, Sherwin, and the others, of the aged Bishop Goldwell of St Asaph's, who actually got as far as Rheims upon his way to England, though prevented by various difficulties from continuing his journey. But what is especially interesting to us here is the reason for making this petition to the Pope, which is given in this *Life of B. Ralph Sherwin*—itself published in 1583, in the first edition of the *Concertatio*. For the writer

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

[2] Introduction to the *Douai Diaries*, pp. lxv., lxvi.

names expressly, as the ground on which another Bishop was asked for in 1580, the fact that then "whatever Bishops England had, *they had either been destroyed by the filth and misery of their imprisonment;* or else were too closely confined" to be able either to give confirmation or perform any other function.[1]

Here, then, only a year or two before the erection of the English College pictures, and in connection with a petition to the sovereign Pontiff, we find another explicit declaration that the lives of the eleven Bishops, dead by that time, had been brought to an end by the cruelties of their imprisonment.

6. *B. Edmund Campion and Father Robert Persons, S.J.*

B. Edmund Campion and Father Persons, the first of the Jesuit missionaries to enter England, arrived from Rome in 1580, soon after the above petition for a Bishop had been laid before the Pope; and each of them has left clear testimony of his belief that the imprisoned Bishops had died true Martyrs for the faith.

B. Edmund, after having been about five months in England, wrote as follows to the Father General in Rome.

"They have filled all the old prisons with Catholics, and now make new; and, in fine, plainly affirm that it were better to make a few traitors away than that so many souls should be lost. Of *their* martyrs they brag no more now; for it is now come to pass, that for a few apostates and cobblers of theirs burnt, we have *Bishops*, lords, knights, the old nobility, patterns of learning, piety, and prudence, the flower of the youth, noble matrons, and of

[1] "Quotquot enim Anglia Episcopos habebat, ii vel carcerum squalore consumpti erant, vel sic vinculis constricti, ut nec illud sacramentum conferre, vel ullum aliud munus ecclesiasticum exequi possent" (*Vita et Martyrium D. Radulphi Schervini, Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, Augustæ Trevirorum*, 1583, p. 212). This first edition of the *Concertatio* was brought out by the Revs. John Fenn and Father John Gibbons, S.J. The *Life of B. R. Sherwin* appears to be by Fenn.

the inferior sort innumerable, either martyred at once, or *by consuming prisonment dying daily.*"[1]

On the same day, as Mr Simpson thinks, Father Persons also wrote: "There is immense want of a Bishop to consecrate for us the holy oils for Baptism and Extreme Unction, for want of which we are brought to the greatest straits; and unless his Holiness makes haste to help us in this matter, we shall soon be at our wit's end."[2]

In the next year, 1581, after his return to the continent, Father Persons caused to be published at Bologna his treatise, *De Persecutione Anglicana*, of which a second edition was printed at Rome itself in 1582. In this he makes the following allusion to the Bishops and others, who had perished of the miseries endured in prison. "I do not speak here of that most holy multitude of *Prelates*, Doctors, Priests, and other Confessors of Christ, *whom the prison has either despatched by its filth, or has worn out by sorrow or by hunger.*"[3]

We must not forget that Father Persons was the director of George Gilbert, who began the erection of the pictures in the very year in which this book appeared in Rome. We must remember too, how, in bringing out Sander's *History* with Rishton's continuation of it, in 1585, Father Persons took care to add to it a full list of the fourteen Bishops, who by that time had all died for the faith, either in prison or in exile; and to make clearer still his veneration for those of them that had laid down their lives in prison, we may quote the following from one of his later works.

"Let it be considered in what manner this banishment of the Pope was contrived. . . . All the clergy was deposed and deprived of livings and liberty, only for adhering to the Pope's religion; and *the Bishops* and other principal Prelates of our land committed to prisons, holds, and

[1] Mr Simpson's *Life of Edmund Campion*, p. 249.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 245. Mr Simpson thinks both letters to have been written on November 17, 1580.

[3] *De Persecutione Anglicana*, Romæ, 1582, *cum licentia superiorum*, p. 33.

restraints, for the same cause, and *there continued unto their dying day*, for that they refused to subscribe to so violent a statute."[1]

7. *Rishton, Bridgewater, and others.*

The unequivocal statements made by Rishton and Bridgewater, as to the death of the imprisoned Bishops, have been already quoted in the second chapter of this book.

There we saw that Rishton, writing in the year 1585, speaks of the deprived Bishops as "having died in chains for their confession of the Catholic Faith"; calls them "most glorious Confessors for ever to be borne in memory"; and declares that after their deposition, "they were committed to prisons and to various confinements, so that all of them have now been *put an end to* [*extincti sunt*] *by the protracted miseries of their condition.*" There, too, we saw that Bridgewater, in 1588, after describing their fate in almost the self-same words as Rishton, declares without hesitation of all of them, excepting the two that went into exile, "all of these died in prison, *Martyrs.*"

To these testimonies we may here add that of another work, which quickly ran through four editions, besides being translated into French;—the *Theatrum Crudelitatum Hæreticorum nostri temporis*, brought out with illustrations of the martyrs' sufferings, by Richard Verstegan, an English Catholic exile (though of Dutch descent), in 1587.

In this work, in the following passage, the imprisonment of the Bishops is stated to have been *designedly* inflicted, as the safest mode of bringing about their deaths.

"The following was the plan followed in England by the persecutors, to begin with starving the cities and England by withholding the word of God. . . . They first, therefore, sentenced the Bishops, Priests, Monks, and other ecclesiastics, to imprisonment, *that they might there be despatched by the stench, the filth, and want of food;* or else they compelled them to leave the country."[2]

[1] *A Temperate Ward-word to the turbulent and seditious Watch-word of Sir Francis Hastings*, 1599, p. 35.

[2] *Theatrum Crudelitatis, etc.*, p. 13, ed. 1588.

In evidence, moreover, of the widespread belief, as to the violence used by Elizabeth upon the Catholic Bishops whom she had displaced, a letter may be quoted, written from England, in 1597, by the Polish envoy, Petrus Dzialinus, in which he states that, on the religion of the country being changed, "all the Bishops were removed *by Martyrdom*."[1]

There is no need to repeat again the words of writers, such as Dorman, Osorio, and the Scottish Bishop Leslie; who all, at all events, implicitly speak of the faithful Bishops sent to die in prison, as true Martyrs.

8. *Cardinal Allen.*

Conclusive though the above testimonies are, as to the unanimity with which the Bishops dead in prison were looked upon as *Martyrs*, by the Catholics of the time; none of the writers as yet quoted spoke so insistently and clearly on the subject, and at the same time with such real authority, as Cardinal Allen.

It must be remembered that Allen, long before his elevation to the Cardinalate, had not merely become the acknowledged leader of the English Catholics; but had been entrusted by the Pontiff, even in the lifetime of some of the imprisoned Bishops, with the jurisdiction which they in their confinement could not exercise. His profound reverence and affection for these holy sufferers, in whose place he was constrained to act, appears in the continual allusions to them in his writings. His position also naturally gave him special opportunities of obtaining information as to their condition, since he was continually receiving intelligence from England; and at the same time the authority, which it added to his words, was an effectual restraint against any tendency to exaggeration.

In his *Apology* for the two Seminaries of Rome and Douai, the establishment of which had been necessitated by the proscription of the Catholic faith in England, Allen was naturally led to refer often to the holy Prelates who

[1] "Episcopi omnes martyrio sublati sunt." R.O. Bliss Roman Transcripts, 86.

had so valiantly opposed the alteration of the country's religion. The book was published by him in 1581;—less, therefore, than a year before the erection of the pictures was begun at Rome, though some two years and a half after the death of the last of the eleven Bishops commemorated in them.[1]

In this book Allen refers more than once to the *slow martyrdom in prison*, which their firm confession of the faith had brought upon the Bishops;—thus repeating, in a published work, what he had already in 1572 joined Harding and the others in declaring to Pope Gregory XIII.

Speaking of Elizabeth's first parliament he says: "That Parliament . . . withal abolished all the rites of the Catholic Church, and the right use of ministering the holy Sacraments and Sacrifice, prescribing a new form, . . . all the Bishops of the Realm, most grave, learned, and honourable Prelates, present (as having principal place and voice by the laws of our country in the same) dissenting and dissuading with all their power possible. . . . Above all this, they moreover at the same time caused a form of oath to be conceived concerning the Queen's spiritual sovereignty, which should be offered to all Archbishops, Bishops, and other ecclesiastical persons—specially whom they knew by their former declaration and protestation against it, could not in conscience take it, nor would against their conscience receive it; that, upon refusal thereof, they might be deposed—to wit the Pastors and parents even by their sheep and children, certain hungry companions from Geneva, shaped into sheep-skins, waiting in the meantime to enter upon their flocks, as afterward they did: the said Prelates honourably and gladly sustaining deprivation, and *ever since imprisonment for confession of their faith, whereby, and by tract of time, most of them be happily and gloriously deceased.*"[2]

[1] Allen wrote on June 23, 1581, that he heard that his *Apology* was already in the hands both of adversaries and friends (*Letters and Memorials*, p. 98).

[2] *An apology and true declaration of the institution and endeavours*

Further on in the same work Dr Allen expresses his desire that the Queen "would not contemn the whole consent of all the learned Bishops and Priests of her realm, testifying the truth once in Parliament, and afterward *by their continual imprisonment and death in the same;* that she would conceive deliberately of so much holy blood meekly yielded for the testimony of this truth, specially of that noble pair, famous Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, the best learned of all the clergy of that realm for many ages; and renowned More, the greatest clerk of all the laity."[1]

Finally, addressing the Catholics themselves in the conclusion, Allen exhorts them "to live after the demeanour of all old Martyrs, and according to the pattern of those glorious Confessors, our true fathers, Pastors, and masters, that have by their sacred persons sanctified your prisons by two and twenty years' durance." He speaks, too, of "the great increase of the number and the zeal of known Catholics, gained principally by the long confession, *which is a true though a slow martyrdom*, of the constant and learned prelates besides others, and afterward by the like suffering of the younger priests and others, being the fry and fruit of the former spiritual fight, which now being come to perfection, hath seed in itself."[2]

The way in which Allen here joins together "the old Martyrs," the "noble pair" slaughtered by Henry, and "the glorious Confessors" who had "testified to the truth" by the "true, though slow, *martyrdom*" of their deaths in prison, clearly shows that he held all of these in equal veneration; and it is of importance to observe that, some months only after the publication of this book, began the erection of the English College pictures, the subjects of which *he* was asked to suggest; and in which, after the

of the two English Colleges, the one in Rome, and the other now resident in Rheims. Printed at Mounts in Hainault, 1581, ff. 35, 36. Watson and Goldwell were the only Bishops then still living.

[1] *Ibid.*, ff. 47, 48.

[2] *Ibid.*, f. 105.

ancient Martyrs, and those that suffered under Henry, the imprisoned Bishops were represented as the first victims of Elizabeth.

In the preceding chapters considerable quotations have been made already from the answer, which Allen published in 1584, to the *Execution of Justice* of Lord Burghley. In this again, the subject necessarily led him to speak much of the imprisoned Bishops, whose sufferings had been so dishonestly denied by Burghley. It will here suffice for our purpose to select a few of the most telling passages, in which Allen reasserts the *martyrdom* which the deposed Bishops had really undergone.

Bishop Challoner remarks, in speaking of this masterly reply of Dr Allen's: "People in power will not bear to be told they lie"; and he relates how two of the Martyrs —the Venerable Thomas Alfield and Thomas Webley— were put to death in 1585 for circulating copies of it.[1]

In this book, in enumerating the cruelties exercised against the Catholics by the ministers of Elizabeth, Allen says: "They have *pined and smothered in their filthy prisons* above thirty *famous Prelates;*[2] above forty excellent learned men; of nobles, gentlemen, and matrons, a number; whose *martyrdom* is before God as glorious as if they had by a speedy violent death been despatched. . . . And yet they would not have us complain; they say that all is sweet, clement, and merciful in this regiment. But, as we said, we no otherwise complain of this persecution against us, but (*i.e.*, than) as it is exercised for that faith and quarrel which the laws of God and man approve and justify in us; that it is done by the sheep and subjects of God's Church against their own *Prelates and Pastors*, to whom in causes of religion they are bound to obey by the express word of God. . . . When the temporal Prince, or lay people, rebel against *their own Bishops*, to whom in spiritual matters they are bound by God's word to give ear under pain of damnation; yea, when mere lay men, and most of them wholly unlearned, dis-

[1] *Missionary Priests*, Edinburgh edit., 1877, vol. i., p. 113.

[2] With the Bishops he here includes the Deans and Archdeacons.

orderly take upon them to prescribe unto their own Pastors what they should believe, how they should minister the Sacraments; force upon them impious oaths and articles; and that in Parliament, where the Bishops by the laws of our country having the principal suffrages, and the rest of the whole Convocation representing the Church of England honourably and uniformly resisted; whom these men afterward deposed of their honours, took their pulpits, churches, titles, and prerogatives from them; imprisoned their sacred persons, and abused some of them—namely, the noble Confessor and Bishop of London —by all sorts of villainy: This, lo, is a persecution indeed!"[1]

Again, further on, he asks:—

"Our true Pastors being vexed, spoiled, tormented, *and slain* against law, nature, and all reason, by temporal men having no authority in causes ecclesiastical, and by a new forged clergy that exerciseth no jurisdiction but by evident usurpation. . . . Who is so dull a wit as not to see?" etc.

Lastly, in words which have been already quoted, Dr Allen bids the Libeller not to "extol the equity and mercy used in her Majesty's regiment to certain of the old principal clergy,"—viz., to the deposed Bishops; "because they put them not to death, as they have done others since"; and declares that "what courtesy soever was showed at that time more than afterwards to such as followed . . . in good sooth was no other than, instead of a present quick despatch on gibbet, to allow them a long and miserable life, or rather *a lingering and languishing death in durance, desolation, and disgrace*—a far worse kind of persecution . . . than any other. . . . They little thought," he adds, "that these old holy Confessors being *worn out by years and imprisonment*, a new generation would rise to defend their old Bishops' and Fathers' faith."[2]

[1] A true, sincere, and modest defence of English Catholics that suffer for their faith both at home and abroad; against a false, seditious, and slanderous libel, entitled, *The Execution of Justice in England*, Ingolst., 1584, pp. 39, 40.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 41-43.

Cardinal Allen's last, and even more authoritative, utterance, with reference to the martyrdom of our Bishops, is found in the Admonition addressed by him, as "the Cardinal of England," to the English nobility and people, and intended to have been published only in the event of the success of the Armada.

The Admonition was dated, "From my lodging in the Palace of St Peter in Rome, this 28th of April, 1588"; and contained an enumeration of the crimes by which Elizabeth had merited to be deposed. In it occurs the following:—

"She hath seized upon the sacred persons of God's anointed, even of very Bishops that had charge of her own soul; called them to account for their preaching and doctrine; convented them before her profane Councillors and Commissioners; deposed and imprisoned them, with all others that were of learning and dignity among the clergy, *till by the misery of their captivity they be in effect wholly worn and wasted away.*"[1]

The above passages more than suffice to show how openly and unhesitatingly the Cardinal ascribed the deaths of the imprisoned Bishops to the severity with which they had been treated.

The same thing, too, we must remember, had been solemnly declared by Pope St Pius V., with reference to those dead previous to 1570; who, not only in his Bull against Elizabeth, pronounced "many" of the imprisoned Bishops and clergy to have "ended their days in misery, *worn out* by sorrows and their protracted sufferings"; but who held them up to admiration, in his letter to the Earls, as worthy imitators of the martyred Archbishop, St Thomas of Canterbury.

Though it would be easy to add to the testimonies, above set before the reader, other quotations to the same

[1] *An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland concerning the present wars made for the execution of his Holiness's sentence by the high and mighty King Catholic of Spain.* By the Cardinal of England, anno 1588. Reprinted with a preface by Eupator, 1842, p. xiii.

effect, those already given seem abundantly sufficient to show how unanimously the holy Bishops, who thus perished in prison under Elizabeth, were regarded by their fellow-Catholics as true Saints and Martyrs. Now that the publication of so many documents, to which our Catholic forefathers had no access, has exposed the untruthfulness of the tradition made current by their persecutors; it is, indeed, high time that their memory should be rescued from its undeserved oblivion, and that they should be held up once more to the veneration they have merited.

When the inscription, set beneath the picture of the Bishops' prison, is read in the light of the above quotations from the best Catholic writers of the time itself, it seems impossible to doubt that its authors and approvers had no other thought than to hold up the Eleven Bishops, whom they there exhibited as dying from the miseries of their confinement, to the self-same honour as the other martyrs, whose sufferings for the faith the English College pictures were intended to commemorate.

At the time, indeed, of the beatification of these other Martyrs, the difficulty then found in identifying the Eleven Bishops sufficiently explains the silence observed in their regard in the Decrees of 1886 and 1895. If, however, as we trust, these difficulties are now judged to be removed; we may surely be allowed to entertain the hope that the same honour will be ere long decreed to them; and that we shall be allowed to celebrate the offices of these Eleven holy Bishops, with the same rite as those of St Eusebius of Vercelli, St Marcellus, St John I., and other Pontiff Martyrs, for whom as not having actually shed their blood, the Breviary provides a special *Responsorium.*

It is understood, moreover, that the Postulators of the English Martyrs' cause have already on the list of those whose beatification they are seeking, the name of Bishop Watson of Lincoln, who expired for the faith in prison after the eleven spoken of in the inscription; and it would certainly be a grievous disappointment to all those that love their memory, if the same honour should not be also

given to these latter, who went to their reward before him.

In all this, however, and in everything that he has written, the writer submits himself entirely to the judgment of the Holy See.

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